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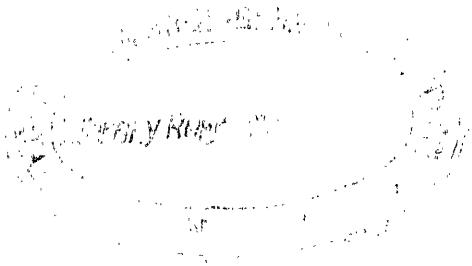
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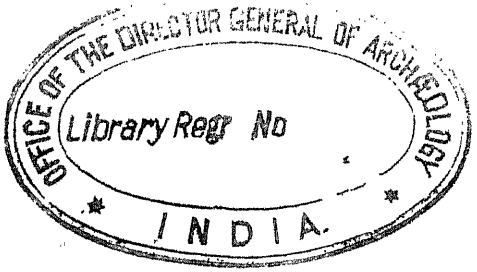


THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

AND

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



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EDITED BY

W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S , F.S.A.,

JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.,

AND

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON SOME UNPUBLISHED COINS OF LYSIMACHUS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 18th, 1869.]

In a recent paper I ventured to lay before the Society some unpublished tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, in my collection, which appeared to me worthy of notice. I now propose, in like manner, to direct attention to some coins of Lysimachus, which are also, I believe, unpublished; at least they are not found in the valuable work of M. Müller on the coinage of that monarch,[1] in which he has collected, with most praiseworthy diligence, all the varieties that he was able to meet with. One of the coins in question is interesting, as indicating (if my interpretation be correct) a new city in addition to those at which Lysimachus was previously known to have struck coins. They are all, with the exception of the last, silver tetradrachms.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Alexander, with the ram's horn, as the son of Ammon, to the right.

   Rev.—Pallas seated, as usual, holding a Victory, with a shield behind the throne, but no spear. The

[1] Münzen des Lysimachus, 4to., Copenhagen, 1858.

legend, as usual, in two lines ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ.[2] In the exergue, an owl standing, and the monogram ΙΑΒ.

This coin, which I procured at Constantinople in 1863 from an intelligent Armenian dealer, is in excellent preservation, and from its very broad and spread character, as well as from the style of the fabric (especially that of the obverse), may be at once assigned to a Thracian origin. The style of execution of the head, indeed—though in some degree peculiar—more resembles that of the earliest coins struck at Byzantium than any others in my possession.

It can scarcely be doubted that in this instance the owl, which figures in the exergue, was intended as a symbol to indicate the place of mintage. But, unfortunately, the owl, as M. Müller justly remarks, is a type of such frequent occurrence on autonomous Greek coins, as to afford in itself but little clue to its determination. It is found also as an accessory symbol on coins of Alexander the Great, which, however, M. Müller has hesitated to assign to any particular city. (See his "Numismatique d'Alexandre," p. 200, Nos. 651—653.) On those of Lysimachus only two instances of its occurrence are cited by M. Müller—the one on a gold stater, on which, as usual on the gold coins, it occurs alone; in the other case it is found in the exergue of a tetradrachm, combined with the monogram Κ. Among the cities conjecturally suggested by M. Müller,[3] those of Imbros and Sigeum are perhaps the most plausible, and I was at one time disposed to attribute the coin in my possession to the island of

[2] This being the same on all the coins described, it has not been thought necessary to repeat it.

[3] Num. d'Alexandre, p. 200. Münzen des Lysimachus, p. 88.

Imbros. But the monogram affords no support to this conjecture.

On the other hand, there exist equally coins with an owl on the reverse, struck at Bisanthe, a city of Thrace, situated on the shores of the Propontis, between Perinthus and the Hellespont;[4] and it will be found that the monogram on my coin resolves itself without difficulty into the letters BIΣAN, the Σ being inverted, as is not unfrequently found in monograms. To this place, therefore, I should be disposed to assign the coin in question; and, conjecturally at least, the other coins of Lysimachus and Alexander with the owl as an accessory symbol. Bisanthe was by no means an unimportant town: it is mentioned both by Herodotus (vii. 137), and Xenophon (*Anabasis*, vii. 2, § 38), and the latter author speaks of it as occupying a highly advantageous maritime position. In his time it belonged to the Thracian king, Seuthes, but there is no doubt that it had passed under the rule of the Macedonian kings at a time when these possessed Perinthus and Selymbria, and, indeed, the whole of both shores of the Propontis. The autonomous coins of Bisanthe are rare, but the same may be said of several other cities which are supposed, with apparently good reason, to have struck coins with the names and types of Alexander or Lysimachus.

In describing the coin in question, I have noticed the omission of the spear, usually seen on all the tetradrachms of Lysimachus, leaning against the shoulder of the seated Pallas. Though I look upon this omission as purely accidental, the spear being often so slightly marked that

[4] A coin of Bisanthe with this type was first figured by Eckhel (*Nummi Veteres Anecdoti*, tab. iv. fig. 18). See also Mionnet, Suppl. tom. ii. p. 232.

it may be readily overlooked, it is the only instance that I have met with where it is altogether wanting. Another peculiarity is that the ornamentation of the shield is quite different from that usually found. Instead of a plain shield, having the boss ornamented with a lion's head or that of a Gorgon—the general mode of decoration—in this case the centre or boss is plain, and the rest of the shield ridged or furrowed with lines radiating from it. These trifling peculiarities are only worthy of notice as appearing to confirm the supposition that the coin in question was minted at a different city from any of those previously published.

2. *Obv.*—Same head, very sharply and distinctly executed, but of slightly barbarous character.

Rev.—Pallas seated, with spear and shield, as usual; beneath her outstretched right hand the monogram ΡΙ (PAN or NAP ?); in the field, beyond the legend, a thyrsus; in the exergue the letter E.

The thyrsus is found as an accessory symbol on several coins of Lysimachus, published by M. Müller (Nos. 360—364), but with different monograms from those on the present coin. He hesitates to assign these to any particular city, though observing that they probably belong to Macedonia, or to the adjoining coast of Thrace. Nor have I any more plausible suggestion to offer. The fabric of my coin is peculiar, the execution being remarkably sharp and clear, though slightly hard, but with something in the design that betrays at once the unskilful imitator, instead of the accomplished Greek artist. This defect is, as usual, most apparent on the head side, the features of the portrait being decidedly slightly barbarous, while the sitting figure of Pallas might pass without

remark among the ordinary tetradrachms of Lysimachus. It is remarkable that the peculiarities of fabric are precisely the opposite of those which characterize the slightly barbarous coins of Byzantium and the neighbouring parts of Thrace.

3. *Obv.*—Same head, of bold fine work.

Rev.—Pallas seated, as usual; in the field, beneath her arm, a caduceus; behind her, a cornucopiæ.

This coin is interesting as combining two symbols, which are assigned by M. Müller to two different cities. The caduceus he regards as the symbol of Ænos in Thrace—a highly plausible attribution, as the caduceus is represented precisely of the same form and character as is found on the coins of Ænos. The cornucopiæ, on the other hand, he assigns to Cœla in the Thracian Chersonese—a suggestion which appears to me open to the gravest doubts, as there are no autonomous coins of Cœla at all, and it is only on the Imperial coins of the town, when it had become a Roman Municipium, that the cornucopiæ is found; while, on the contrary, the cornucopiæ appears on *autonomous* coins of Sestos, and is a frequent type on those of Byzantium. But the difficulty of determining the city to which the coin in question belongs is considerably increased when we consider it in connection with two other tetradrachms of Lysimachus, of very similar style and fabric. The one of those (No. 112 of M. Müller's catalogue, and assigned by him also to Ænos) has a caduceus in the field, identical both in form and position with that on the coin now under consideration, but behind the figure, a bee, the well-known symbol of Ephesus.[5] The other (No. 445*a* of Müller) has in the

[5] There is, indeed, a considerable number of coins of

field, in the place of the caduceus, a torch similar to that of Amphipolis, with a bee, in like manner, behind the figure. In all other respects both the style and execution of the reverses of these two coins (I speak now of the specimens in my own cabinet) are as precisely similar—even in minute details of the form and disposition of the letters of the legend—as it is possible for coins to be, which are not from the same die. But when we come to look at the obverses, we find that the heads are actually *from the same die*. It appears to me, therefore, as certain as any conclusion can be, in a subject where we are necessarily left to mere inference, that the two coins in question, as well as the one I am here describing—which presents almost precisely the same style of work, as well as the same peculiarities of lettering—belong to the same part of the country, and can only be referred to neighbouring cities. Yet M. Müller has transferred that with the torch and the bee to Caria in Asia Minor, and assigned it to Chrysaoris, the city much better known in after times as Stratonicea.

Alexander the Great, with the bee as a symbol, the fabric of which will not allow us to refer them to Ephesus, and these are assigned by M. Müller, with great appearance of reason, to Melitæa in Thessaly, the autonomous coins of which bear a bee as their type, obviously in reference to the name (See Prokesch-Osten *Inedita*, pl. i. fig. 30—34). But it is doubtful whether this can be applied to coins of Lysimachus, as no coins of that monarch are found bearing signs of their being struck in Thessaly. It is indeed doubtful whether Melitæa was ever included within the dominions of Lysimachus.

At the same time I must remark that neither of the coins in question has the smallest resemblance in point of fabric to those of Asia Minor. Least of all have they anything in common with the *undoubted* coins of Ephesus, the gold staters and drachms with the bee associated with the letters EΦ. Unfortunately there are no tetradrachms thus distinctly characterized with which to compare them.

The three coins which I have thus brought into connexion with one another appear to me to afford a striking illustration of the uncertainty that must always attend the classification of these regal tetradrachms, wherever they present more than one symbol as an accessory. In the particular case before us the difficulty may indeed be readily solved by supposing that the symbols behind the figure, and beyond the legend (which occur only on few of the coins of Lysimachus), are not to be regarded as *city symbols* at all;[6] we might then give the two coins with the caduceus simply to Ænos, and assign that with the torch to Amphipolis, of which it is the well-known symbol.

But, after all, this is to cut the knot, rather than to untie it. Were it not for the fact that the caduceus is found on two of the coins in question, associated at one time with the cornucopiæ, at another with the bee, it would have appeared most natural to regard the bee as the principal symbol, and the caduceus and torch as the additional or subordinate ones. This would explain also most readily the fact that the obverses of the two coins which have the bee in common are from the same die,—a circumstance very difficult to account for, if we suppose the one to have been struck at Amphipolis and the other at Ænos. But this difficulty is enormously increased if we follow the classification proposed by M. Müller, and transfer the one coin to a remote region of Asia Minor, with which it is impossible to suppose that Ænos had

[6] I am aware that this suggestion is at variance with the principle laid down by M. Müller, who considers these accessory emblems, or symbols, on the regal coins to be, *in all cases*, symbols of cities. But it appears to me that the question is one which will require a great deal of further discussion before we can regard this conclusion as established.

any connection either administrative or artistic. It is not indeed evident why M. Müller should have refused to assign the coin in question (No. 445*a*) to Amphipolis, to which the racing-torch, or "torch with a saucer," as it is called by Colonel Leake, would, *primâ facie*, appear to belong. It is well known that such a torch is one of the commonest accessories on the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, no less than nine varieties with this symbol being enumerated by M. Muller; but there is an obvious reason why it should be comparatively rare on those of Lysimachus, as it was not till B.C. 286 (only five years before his death) that Amphipolis was included within his dominions.[7] Still this is no reason why we should not accept it where it *does* appear, and it certainly seems most natural to give it the same signification on the coins of Lysimachus as on those of Alexander.

M. Müller has apparently been led to wander away to Caria by the circumstance that a racing-torch is found in the field of certain tetradrachms of Lysimachus, which have a *Mœander* in the exergue—an addition that may fairly be taken as indicating that they were struck in some city in the neighbourhood of that river. But there is one important difference which M. Müller has omitted to notice; the torch, in all these cases, as appears from his own tables, is bound with strings or fillets, which give it quite a different appearance from the ordinary and well-known torch of Amphipolis. The same form of torch is found, indeed, on some other tetradrachms on

[7] The torch of Amphipolis is found as an accessory symbol on the coins both of Cassander, and of his son, Alexander, whose reigns in Macedonia were contemporaneous with that of Lysimachus *in Thrace*. See Lea[illegible] Hellenica.

which the Mæander is wanting (see Nos. 443, 443*a* of M. Müller's list), and there is no reason why these should not be assigned to the same city, especially as the style of work is very similar, while this is wholly different in the coin having the simple torch. I should therefore be disposed to leave those coins with the *filleted* torch (Nos. 443, 443*a*, and 444) provisionally, at least, in the place to which M. Müller has assigned them,[8] while I should have little hesitation in referring those with the ordinary or simple racing-torch (440—442, 445, 445*a*) to the well-known city of Amphipolis, where we know that this symbol had continued to be used as an adjunct on the coins of the Macedonian kings down to the time of Lysimachus.

The occurrence of coins from the same die, though struck apparently at different cities, is undoubtedly a circumstance difficult to explain. It is well known that it is not unusual to find autonomous Greek coins where the same die has been used for the obverse, though coupled with different reverses; in one case, two tetradrachms of Catana, in my possession, with the full-faced head of Apollo, have the obverses from the same die, though the reverses are not only from different dies, but of a very different style of work, both in design and execution; so that any numismatist would have pro-

[8] At the same time I must confess that this attribution seems to me a very uncertain one, Stratonicea being so distant from the Mæander that it is not at all obvious why it should have been introduced on the coins of that city. Moreover, there are no coins in existence of Chrysaoris, or Idrias, as it was also called; nor do any coins of Alexander appear to have been struck there. In fact, the existence of any such city rests only on the authority of Stephanus Byzantius, and the evidence of its connexion with Stratonicea is by no means conclusive.

nounced the one to be of considerably later date than the other.[9] But it could hardly happen that two independent cities would use the same die for their autonomous coins. In the case of the regal coins, however, it appears certain that this was not very unfrequently done. Mr. Poole has informed me that he has found numerous instances among the coins of the Ptolemies where the portrait on the obverse is unquestionably from the same die, though the reverses bear the mint-marks of different cities of Phœnicia. But in these cases, at least, the coins belong to places not far removed from one another, and which formed, in some sort, a part of the same political system. No such reason can be assigned for the common employment of the same die by such cities as Amphipolis and Ænos; still less if the one coin were struck in Thrace, the other in Caria.

The classification of the coins at present under discussion is rendered still more perplexing by the circumstance that, while the coin in my possession with the caduceus and bee combined is, as already observed, almost identical in style and work with the other two with which I have been comparing it, another tetradrachm of Lysimachus, which was sold at Sotheby's, in February, 1868, *with the same two symbols*, in the same relative position, was of quite a different character, being

[9] The reverse of one of these coins is the same as figured in the Mus. Hunter, Pl. xv. fig. 22; while that of the other is the same as fig. 21 of the same plate, where it is associated with an obverse of wholly different style, *and the work of a different artist*. This latter coin is evidently the same with the splendid tetradrachm (from the Thomas collection) figured by General Fox in his Unedited Coins, Pl. iii. fig. 30, whose careful figure shows at a glance the total difference of style from the ordinary tetradrachms of Catana with the full-faced head.

of much more fine and delicate workmanship, the types both on the obverse and reverse being smaller and more highly finished. On account of its remarkable preservation this coin fetched the extraordinary price (for a Lysimachus) of £15 15*s.*, on which account I was unable to add it to my collection, and compare it directly with the one I already possessed; but the different style of work was obvious on the first glance.

4. *Gold Stater.* Head of Alexander, with ram's horn, as usual; of a bold and fine style of work.
Rev.—Pallas seated, as usual; in the field, in front of her, the monogram (ΚΑΛΧ ?)

The monogram on this coin is not among those given in M. Müller's work, as found either on the gold or silver coins of Lysimachus. It is interesting, because the most natural solution of it would be that above suggested, leading us to attribute the mintage to Chalcedon. Chalcidice in Macedonia might be suggested; but, besides that the monogram resolves itself much more readily into ΚΑΛΧ than ΧΑΛΚ, there is no probability that any coins bearing that appellation were struck during the regal period. There was, as Colonel Leake has pointed out, no *city* of Chalcis in Macedonia (though it usually figures in numismatic works), and the splendid coins with the legend ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ, were struck by the Chalcidenses, or people of Chalcidice, in common. But any such league was necessarily broken up after the time of Philip, and accordingly we find no coins bearing the name or symbol of the Chalcidians struck under Alexander or his successors. Chalcis in Eubœa is out of the question, as it certainly at no time was included in the dominions of Lysimachus. A confirmation of the proposed attribution would also be found in the style of work, which certainly

reminds one more of that of the splendid tetradrachms with the torch in the field, attributed by M. Müller (without doubt correctly) to Cyzicus,[10] than any other coins of the series with which I have had the opportunity of comparing it.

On the other hand, it may be objected that the only silver coins of Lysimachus that can be attributed with any plausibility to Chalcedon, and which are assigned to that city by M. Müller, as well as by Eckhel and earlier numismatists, are of a totally different style, and belong to that class of coins which have a semi-barbarous character, and for this, as well as for other reasons, are regarded by M. Müller as belonging to a later period, and as struck long after the death of the monarch whose name and inscription they bear. These coins, in fact, belong to the same class, and resemble in style and fabric the numerous series of coins (both in gold and silver) struck in the neighbouring city of Byzantium, with the name and titles of Lysimachus, the greater part of which (as is well known to all numismatists) are of a semi-barbarous style of work, passing by degrees into one completely barbarous. To the same class belong also the coins of Lysimachus which bear the initials or attributes of the cities of Tomi, Callatia, and Istrus, all of which struck gold coins of more or less barbarous fabric.[11] The coin at present under consideration has nothing at all in common with this class of staters. The work is bold, and in high

[10] Münzen des Lysimachus, No. 381. See the Thomas Catalogue, No. 866.

[11] See the Catalogue of the Northwick Collection, lot 533—535, where the one with the initials ΚΑΛ is erroneously ascribed to Chalcedon; it clearly belongs to the same series with those given by Müller, Nos. 258 and foll.

relief, and the character of the portrait, though not free from exaggeration, has the same stamp of grandeur and energy that is so striking on the best of the coins struck at Cyzicus.

At the same time I cannot admit this argument to be conclusive against the proposed attribution. While fully agreeing with M. Müller that the greater part of the coins of Lysimachus struck at Byzantium belong to a period after the death of that monarch, I am far from disposed to believe that they *all* were so. The extant tetradrachms, with the initials B Y and the trident, form indeed a complete series, in which we may trace the gradual decline of art from specimens that are little (if at all) inferior to the *average* coins of Lysimachus, down to such as are almost as barbarous as the rude Pannonian imitations of the coins of Philip of Macedon. That such a series, *originating in the lifetime of the monarch*, might be continued for an indefinite period after his death, seems natural enough; but I confess myself at a loss to understand from what motives such a coinage should have been adopted *in the first instance* after his decease.

But, M. Müller objects (p. 27—30), it is impossible to suppose that coins with the name and title of Lysimachus should have been struck during his lifetime at Byzantium, because that city continued throughout his reign, and until long afterwards, to be a free and independent republic; nor, so far as we learn from history, did either Byzantium or Chalcedon ever pass under the dominion of Lysimachus. It is certain that we find Byzantium still maintaining an independent position as late as the year 313 B.C., when its alliance was in vain courted by Antigonus on the one hand, and by Lysimachus on the other; but the Byzantines adhered to their former position of

a friendly neutrality with both sides.[12] It is certain also that Byzantium is again mentioned in B.C. 280, as concluding a treaty of alliance with Heraclea, for mutual protection against Seleucus;[13] but this was after the death of Lysimachus. What had been the relations between the city and that monarch during the long period of more than thirty years that intervened between the peace of 311, which established Lysimachus in the undisturbed possession of Thrace, and his death in 281, we have no information. But admitting, as maintained by M. Müller, that the conquest of so powerful a city as Byzantium, which had defied the arms of Philip, and does not appear to have ever acknowledged the sovereignty of Alexander, would be an event of too much importance not to have been recorded, and that Byzantium probably continued throughout this period to be virtually independent, it may still be asked whether it was not likely that a free city, surrounded on all sides by the dominions of a powerful prince (for Lysimachus ruled in Bithynia as well as in Thrace) may not have purchased his favour and protection by entering into such relations with him as involved the acknowledgment of his nominal sovereignty.

It must also be borne in mind that the great extension of the regal coinage, first of Alexander, afterwards of Lysimachus, on all sides of them, made it a matter of advantage to a great commercial city like Byzantium to adopt the Attic standard, which had been followed by those monarchs, instead of the one they had previously employed. In order to do this, three ways were open to them:—first, to issue a new coinage of their own—this,

[12] Diodor., xix. 77.
[13] Memnon, c. xi., ed. Orelli.

we know, they did *not* do;[14] secondly, to strike coins, as was done by many neighbouring cities, with the name and types of Alexander—this also they did not do, for it is a remarkable fact that no coins of that monarch are extant which can with any plausibility be assigned to Byzantium; thirdly, to adopt the coinage of their immediate neighbour, which was already in extensive circulation around them. This, we know, was the course actually adopted by them; the only question is as to the time at which it was commenced. And when we consider the complicated and fluctuating character of the relations that subsisted at this period between the different princes that were tearing in pieces the mighty empire of Alexander, and between them and the free cities which sided at one time with one, at another time with another, of the rival potentates, we may well hesitate to admit M. Müller's position, that they *could* not have done so in the lifetime of Lysimachus.

The case of Chalcedon is to a great extent analogous to that of Byzantium. It did not strike coins with the name of Alexander the Great, and there is no evidence that it was ever subject to that monarch. In B.C. 315 it appears in a state of at least virtual independence;[15] and again, in B.C. 280, it joined the Byzantines and Heracleans in an alliance against Seleucus.[16] At this time, therefore, it must have been in a condition to act as an autonomous city. But if we are called on to infer from this that it had always continued so, we may urge as a

[14] The tetradrachms of Byzantium with the seated figure of Neptune, which are doubtless the latest of the autonomous coins of that city, do not follow the Attic standard. From their great rarity, however, it is evident that they never formed the principal coinage of a great commercial city like Byzantium.

[15] See Diodorus, xix. 60. [16] Memnon, c. xii.

warning that Heraclea, the very city with which the treaty of alliance was concluded, had only just emerged into a state of freedom, after having been subject to Lysimachus throughout the latter part of his reign. Now, we happen to know something of the history of Heraclea. A singular chance—almost unique in the history of Greek literature—has preserved to us an abstract of certain portions of a local history of that city—one of those histories which we know to have existed in profusion, of all the principal Greek colonies;[17] and while this important historical document throws much light upon the period we are now considering—that of the successors of Alexander—it serves, at the same time, to show more clearly by contrast the darkness in which other portions of the same history are still involved. If we have but partial information as to the history of Heraclea, that of Byzantium and Chalcedon are almost a blank. To appeal to negative evidence under such circumstances is certainly a most hazardous mode of argument.

In making these remarks, I wish not to be understood as attaching any undue importance to the attribution of my particular coin to Chalcedon. This I fully admit to

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[17] The history of Heraclea, by Memnon, a native of that city, was a voluminous work, in not less than sixteen books. Extracts from, or rather abstracts of, some only of these have been preserved to us among the excerpta of the patriarch Photius. But there was an older history of Heraclea, written by Nymphis, about the middle of the second century B.C., who also wrote a history of Alexander and his successors in twenty-four books. What a mine of historic wealth would have opened to us had we possessed such works as these in their entirety; and how many valuable details would the numismatist have been able to glean from them, to throw light upon his special subjects of research!

be a mere conjecture. The interpretation of monograms is generally more or less doubtful; and it is by no means certain that the monogram in question is that of a city at all. Moreover, it must be admitted that, if that attribution be correct, it stands alone as a numismatic monument of Chalcedon, with no continuous series to connect it, as in the case of Byzantium, with the semi-barbarous coins of a later period. A somewhat similar instance is, however, found in the case of Cyzicus, of which we have a few coins of very fine style; indeed, among the finest of the whole series; and others (in which the torch is placed horizontally) of a decidedly later period and inferior work.[18] But I have been desirous to take the opportunity of inquiring into the doctrine laid down by M. Müller as a "principle," which, if admitted, would exclude the *possibility* of such an attribution. I find myself, after full consideration of his views, still disposed to hold with the sagacious but judicious Eckhel,[19] as well as with the more recent authority of M. Rathgeber,[20] that the fragmentary and imperfect state of our historical knowledge renders it wholly unsafe to pronounce any negative opinion upon such grounds.

At the same time, I beg distinctly to disclaim the slightest intention of detracting from the merit of M. Müller's valuable work, which I regard, in common with his previous treatise on the coins of Alexander the Great, as one of the most important contributions to numismatic

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[18] See Müller, "Münzen des Lysimachus," pp. 74, 75.

[19] Nummi Veteres Anecdoti, pp. 62, 63. The remarks of Eckhel indeed refer specifically to a coin, which I agree with M. Müller in referring to a later date; but the argument is one of much more general application.

[20] I am acquainted with the remarks of M. Rathgeber only through the medium of M. Müller, who cites them, p. 62.

science that has appeared of late years. But every such work necessarily involves much that is vague and conjectural; and the difficulties in the case of Lysimachus are even greater than in that of Alexander, precisely because our historical information concerning his reign is far more scanty and imperfect. Much, undoubtedly, remains to be done, and many questions to be solved, before our numismatic knowledge of either the one subject or the other can even approach to completeness. It is only by a repeated and searching examination of the principles and conclusions already established, or sought to be established, as well as by a diligent accumulation of facts, however minute and apparently insignificant, that we can hope ultimately to attain to systematic and trustworthy results. It is with the hope of contributing something to this end that I have submitted these few remarks to the Society.

E. H. Bunbury.

II.

ON THE COINS OF NICOCREON, ONE OF THE KINGS OF CYPRUS.

[Letter addressed to W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., President of the Numismatic Society, by D. Pierides.]

MANY thanks, my dear sir, for the description of the stater attributed to Nicocles, which you kindly copied for me from the sale catalogue of the Thomas collection of coins.[1] I wanted to compare that description with a stater lately found in Cyprus, and now in my possession.

As I conjectured, the two pieces are alike, with the sole exception that there is on mine the monogram ⋈, whereas the coin of the Thomas collection had, I see, two separate letters, N I. I will speak of this difference in the sequel; but I wish to draw your immediate attention to the fact that, except in the initials of the name,

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[1] "*Obv.*—BA. Bust of a female divinity (Venus?) to the left, the hair bound with a double band, the upper one surmounted by leaves; the hair falling down behind, and very unusually disposed; the earring of circular shape, and the necklace of remarkable form. *Rev.*—NI. Female bust of a town (Paphos?) personified, to the left, with earring and necklace, and head crowned with crenated walls and towers; the hair falling down behind, and in front upon the shoulders."—Burgon, Catalogue of Thomas's Sale. London, 1844, p. 338.

these staters are exact copies of those of Pnytagoras published by the late Mr. Borrell[2] and by Mr. W. H. Waddington.[3]

For this reason I am inclined to believe that they were minted for Nicocreon, son of Pnytagoras, and not for Nicocles, who reigned about half a century earlier, and whose other published coins bear on one side the bust of Apollo.

Ancient authors speak of Protagoras, Pythagoras, and Pnytagoras; which confusion in the names must surely be attributed to the blunders of copyists. Borrell, who was the first to draw attention, in his own masterly way, to the numismatics and history of the Salaminian dynasty, mentions two kings, a Protagoras, or Pythagoras, and a Pnytagoras; the last having been at the outset, according to him, a mere officer *sent* by Alexander the Great to govern Cyprus on its submission to his rule, but who usurped the regal authority after Alexander's death.[4]

There is, I think, scarcely any doubt that all the three names refer to one and the same individual, Pnytagoras; and this opinion is borne out by Theopompus,[5] by a late edition of Diodorus Siculus,[6] by Arrian, by an inscription given in another part of this letter, and by other collateral evidence.

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[2] Notice sur quelques Médailles grecques des Rois de Chypre. Paris, 1836, p. 55.

[3] Revue Numismatique. Paris, 1865, p. 12.

[4] Notice, &c., pp. 55, 56. I have not been able to find out upon what authority Borrell states that an officer named Pnytagoras was sent to Cyprus by Alexander: the statement is evidently erroneous.

[5] Apud Photium.

[6] Bibliotheca Trübneriana. Leipsic, 1853.

Pnytagoras was a son of Evagoras I., and he seized the reins of government, in Salamis, on the expulsion of Evagoras II., son of his (Pnytagoras's) brother Nicocles. On the revolt of the Cyprians against the Persian rule, Salamis was attacked by the forces of Ochus, of which the dethroned Evagoras was one of the leaders. Pnytagoras held out for some time, and coming finally to terms with Persia, was allowed to remain in power (B.C. 351).[7]

Nineteen years later, in conjunction with the other kings of Cyprus, he offered his submission to Alexander the Great, then about to besiege Tyre, and with Krateros commanded the left division of Alexander's fleet. His quinquereme was sunk by the Tyrians,[8] and we hear nothing further respecting him. If he survived the destruction of his vessel, he probably died soon after, for he must have been already far advanced in years; and, on Alexander's return to Phœnicia from Egypt (B.C. 331), we find Nicocreon, son of Pnytagoras, as King of Salamis, at the court of the great conqueror, taking a prominent part in its festivities with Pasicrates, King of Soli.[9]

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[7] Borrell,—Diodor. Siculus, XVI. 46.

[8] Arrian, De Expedit. Alexandri, II. 20 and 22.

[9] Plutarch, Life of Alex. the Great. The silver coin with initials ΠΥ, published by Borrell (Notice, p. 48, Fig. 6 of plate), no doubt strengthened his belief that a King Pythagoras, of Salamis, had existed. The error in the reading originated with Mionnet, and was not set right even by the help of another similar piece, which Borrell mentions as belonging to an amateur, and which was probably in a poor condition. I am happy to say that a good exemplar has quite recently fallen into the hands of General L. Palma di Cesnola, United States consul in this island, who has kindly permitted me to examine it. Instead of ΠΥ, the letters are unquestionably ΠΝ (Pnytagoras).

The reign of Nicocreon may be briefly sketched as follows, from the scanty materials we possess:—

Cyprus was for a time the theatre of the conflicts between Ptolemy Soter and Antigonus, some of its petty kings siding with the one, and some with the other. Foremost amongst the partisans of Ptolemy was Nicocreon. Menelaus, brother of Ptolemy, was sent to Cyprus with ships and troops, and was soon after joined by Seleucus (B.C. 315). The faction of Antigonus having been put down, the galleys of Seleucus sailed for the Peloponnesus, a part of the forces which had come with Alexander was despatched to the succour of Caria, and Menelaus himself remained in Cyprus with Nicocreon and their other allies.

During this time Ptolemy was in Cyrene, in Africa; but as soon as he was able to leave, he repaired to Cyprus with fresh armaments (B.C. 312), punished the Cyprian princes who had espoused the cause of Antigonus; and, pleased with the fidelity and ability of Nicocreon, appointed him governor of the whole island. Ptolemy then left; but what became of Nicocreon after this, we are at a loss to say; and Borrell's assertion that he went to Cilicia appears very doubtful indeed.

Cyprus did not remain tranquil long; Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, after a land encounter near Salamis, with Menelaus, and a naval engagement with Ptolemy (who had hastened to his brother's assistance) subdued the island (B.C. 307); but he only kept possession of it about ten years.[10]

The following metrical inscription, found in Argos on

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[10] Borrell, Lacroix, Iles de la Grèce.

a pedestal in 1840, refers to Nicocreon; it is a charming *morceau*:—

Ματρόπολίς μοι χθὼν Πέλοπος τό Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος,
Πνυταγόρας δὲ πατὴρ, Αἰακοῦ ἐκ γενεᾶς.
Εἰμὶ δὲ Νικοκρέων· θρέψεν δέ με γᾶ περίκλυστος
Κύπρος, θείοτάτων ἐκ προγόνων βασιλῆ·
Στᾶσαν δ' Ἀργεῖοί με, χάριν χαλκοῖο τίοντες,
Ἥρᾳ ὃν εἰς ἔροτιν πέμπον ἄεθλα νέοις.

According to its own statement the statue was that of Nicocreon, whose mother was a native of Argos,—who was a king descended from divine ancestors,—born and bred in the Island of Cyprus, son of Pnytagoras of the line of Æacus. We are further told that the statue was erected by the people of Argos as a token of gratitude to Nicocreon for the prizes he was wont to send for the victors in the games which took place during the festival of Hera (Juno).

The silver coin published by Borrell (No. 12 of his plate) belongs also, in my opinion, to Nicocreon. It is in every respect similar to his staters, and I have no doubt that if it could be examined anew, instead of the K, the monogram ⋈ would be easily made out.[11]

Borrell also published a small gold piece of Menelaus (Fig. 11 of his plate), the type of which is exactly that of the staters of Pnytagoras and Nicocreon. It has the letters MEN, but of course without the regal title. It was probably struck before Nicocreon was invested with the general government of Cyprus.

I mentioned, in the beginning of my letter, that

[11] The coins attributed by Borrell to Alexander the Great (Notice, p. 51, Plate, Fig. 7) should, I think, be restored to Nicocles. Borrell never saw any of these coins, and he copied their description from Combe and others, who may have taken for a K the monogram ⋈. The A behind the head of Pallas is probably the second letter of the syllable BA.

whereas on my stater we see the monogram ⋈, the letters N I appear on that of the Thomas collection. I think it possible that, from some defect in the latter coin, a mistake may have arisen in the description given of it in the catalogue. The coins of Nicocles all bear the monogram, and the first five letters of both names are alike: Νικοκ—λῆς—Νικοκ—ρέων.

Numismatists are not agreed respecting the busts represented on the coins which occupy our attention; and first with regard to the one crowned with crenated walls and towers which figures on most of the coins of the kings of Salamis. Borrell, Waddington, and others, consider it to be the bust of Aphrodite; Burgon, that of a town personified. Then we have the protome common to the gold coinage of Pnytagoras, Nicocreon, and Menelaus, and to the silver piece which I propose restoring to Nicocreon, "the hair bound with a double band, falling down behind, and very unusually disposed; the earrings of circular shape," &c. Borrell suggests Ariadne; Burgon, Aphrodite; I. B. A. A. Barthélemy,[12] Bacchus; and Waddington, Myrrha or Adonis.

I have tried to form an opinion on these points myself; but I am obliged to confess that I have not been able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.

D. Pierides.

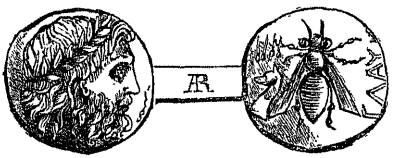
Larnaca, Cyprus,
January, 1869.

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[12] Manuel de Numismatique Ancienne. Paris, Roret, 1851, p. 404.

III.

ON A COIN OF GLAUCONNESUS.



Last year, when Mr. Merlin, our Vice-Consul at Athens, was in England, I bought of him a silver coin.

Obv.—Head of Jove, laureate, to right.

Rev.—ΓΛΑΥ—a bee (as on the coins of Iulis) on left; a dog's head with *radii* (as on those of Carthaea).

Mr. Merlin, myself, and others supposed this to be a coin of Carthaea and Iulis in alliance, and that the "Glau" indicated the first syllable of a magistrate's name,—a very natural supposition. However, on my showing it to my friend Mr. Gaston Feuardent, he at once thought this "Glau" referred to the name of a place, and not of a magistrate. It is unusual to find the name of a magistrate without that of a town.

This idea induced me to search the "Books" for the name of a place commencing with ΓΛΑΥ for "Glau." I first consulted Dr. Smith's Classical Geography, under

the word, "Glauconnesus," which refers to the article "Eubœa." Here I found the following:—

"South of the Euripus are several islands along the shore which afford good anchorage; of these the most important are *Glauconnesus*, Ægiliæ, and the Islands Petaliæ."—Pliny IV. 12, s. 21.

In Bostock and Riley's translation of Pliny—"Cyclades," vol. i. p. 217, 218, I find as follows:—

"Beyond Eubœa, and out in the Myrtoan sea, are numerous other islands, but those specially famous are Glauconnesus and the Ægila."

I then consulted that most excellent and useful "Thesaurus Geographicus," by Abraham Ortelius, Ed. Hanover, 4to, no date, and there I found:—

"Glauci γλαυκὸς Insula in quâ Glaucum histrionem, seu gesticulatorem insignem sepultum ferunt Carystii Pausanias in Eliacis, Glauconnesus Plinii."

Pausanias mentions the island thus in his "Eliacæ."[1]

"Besides the statues which we have already mentioned, you will also see Glaucus the Carystian, who, according to report, was born in Anthedon, a Bœotian city, and derived his original from Glaucus, a dæmon of the sea. His father was the Carystian Demylus, and they report, that at first he used to till the ground; but that the ploughshare happening to fall from the plough, he restored it to its proper place with his hand instead of a mallet; and that his father, perceiving what he had done, brought him to Olympia as a pugilist. Here Glaucus, as being unskilled in this mode of fighting, was wounded by his antagonists, and when he came to fight with his last

[1] I quote from the translation of Pausanias (London, 1796); the French translation by M. Clavier, 1820, is better than any English one.

adversary, it was thought he would have yielded the victory through the multitude of his wounds. However, they say, his father called out to him, 'O, boy! remember the blow of the ploughshare;' and this roused his sinking courage to that degree, that he struck his antagonist with a violence which procured him the victory. He is also said to have obtained other crowns,—two in the Pythian, eight in the Nemean, and eight in the Isthmian games."

There is more about this wrestler, which, though interesting, it is useless to extract.

These authorities seem to me to be conclusive as to the attribution of my coin, but I leave to those more learned than myself to investigate further. I can find no other mention of this small island "Glauconnesus."

C. R. Fox.

IV.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

By Major-General A. Cunningham.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII. p.* 283.)

In 1834, the learned French Academician, Raoul Rochette, first broached the opinion that Agathokles was the real founder of the Bactrian monarchy in B.C. 262, and that, on his murder by the brothers Arsakes and Tiridates in B.C. 256, he was succeeded by his son Diodotus I.[1] This opinion he continued to uphold in spite of the criticism of Lassen, Grotefend, and Wilson, who referred to the Indian inscriptions on the copper coins of Agathokles as offering a sure indication that he could not have reigned in Bactriana. The opinion of Raoul Rochette was adopted by Mionnet, but it has found no other supporters.

In 1843, M. de Bartholomæi published a most important and interesting tetradrachm, bearing the joint names of Diodotus and Agathokles, the former with the title of Soter only, and the latter with the titles of Dikaios and Basileuôn.[2] He ascribed its issue to Agathokles as a post-

[1] Journal des Savants, Juin, 1834, p. 339.—See also 1835, p. 593, and 1836, p. 75.

[2] Idem, 1844, pp. 118, 119.—"Or il est maintenant avéré qu'Agathocle regna dans la Bactriane même, et qu'il appartint à la première dynastie de ce royaume Grec, à celle de Diodotus."

humous honour to Diodotus, the founder of the Bactrian monarchy. This assignment was adopted by R. Rochette, who republished the coin in 1844, and triumphantly pointed to it as "a proof that Agathokles must have reigned in Bactriana itself, and that he belonged to the first Greek dynasty of that kingdom, (namely), to that of Diodotus." But he afterwards modified this opinion, and made Agathokles the immediate successor of Diodotus in Bactria. He still, however, maintained that Agathokles belonged to the family of Diodotus; and, although he does not expressly say so, it follows, as a natural consequence of his argument, that Agathokles must have been the son of Diodotus I., and was therefore identical with Diodotus II. of Justin.

The relation between Diodotus and Agathokles proposed by M. de Bartholomæi was first contested by Droyseu, in 1843, who argued that the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ denoted the subordinate position of Agathokles to his contemporary suzerain, Diodotus. I formed the same opinion when I first read R. Rochette's description of the coin in 1844; and the subsequent discoveries of other coins, which show that Agathokles held exactly the same relation to Euthydemus Theos and to Antiochus Nikator, prove that this is the only true deduction which the coins afford. This also is the opinion of Mr. Thomas, who has examined the question at length in all its bearings.[3]

The argument of M. de Bartholomæi is based chiefly on the value of the term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ, which he takes to be a title superior to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. The term is used on a single coin of Arsakes XII. of Parthia, as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ

[3] Numismatic Chronicle, New Series, II., 186.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, where it takes the place of the usual ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. It is used in the same way on a single coin of the Arian Arsakes; but in this instance we have the advantage of an Indian translation in Arian characters on the reverse, as *Maharajasa rajarajasa*, which is the usual rendering of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. In the case of the Parthian king, who is known to have been associated with his father, I suppose that the coin with the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ may have been struck during his father's lifetime, and, consequently, that it must of necessity be an inferior title to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The term is also found in two of the Ptolemaic inscriptions. First, on the well-known Rosetta stone,[4] where it is the opening word; and, secondly, in the Tanaitic inscription,[5] in both of which cases it would appear to mean simply "during the reign." A similar form of a new title is found on the coins of the Scythian king, *Miaus*, who calls himself ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ; and a similar form of expression is now in common use in the French word, *lieu-tenant*. In none of these instances is there any evidence to support the view of M. de Bartholomæi; on the contrary, the evidence on the coin of Arsakes XII. of Parthia is decidedly opposed to it. But the evidence of the new coins of Antimachus and Agathokles which have been since discovered is conclusive, as it is quite impossible that Diodotus could have been tributary to both Agathokles and Antimachus, or that Agathokles could have been the paramount sovereign of Diodotus of Bactria, of Euthydemus of Ariana, and of Antiochus Nikator of Syria.

[4] The opening words are Βασιλεύοντος τοῦ νέου, καὶ παραλαβόντος τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρος, which the French translator renders by "*Sous le règne* du Jeune, et successeur immédiat de son père."

[5] Revue Archæologique, Janvier, 1868, p. 9.

The discovery of a coin bearing the joint names of Antimachus Theos and Diodotus Soter shows that the former prince must also have been subject to Diodotus. From these remarkable coins we have thus obtained the names of two other princes who were contemporary with the founder of Bactrian independence. But Agathokles would appear to have been preceded by Pantaleon, whose unique tetradrachm, both in fabric and in type, is of earlier date than the silver coins of Agathokles. The figure of the seated Zeus is like that on the coins of Alexander; while the head of Pantaleon is in much higher relief and of much finer execution than any of the portraits of Agathokles. His features also are much older than those of Agathokles; and I am therefore quite satisfied that the independent Pantaleon must be placed before the tributary Agathokles. We have thus the names of three princes, Antimachus, Pantaleon, and Agathokles, all of whom were contemporary with Diodotus. These, then, must be the Eastern satraps referred to by Justin,[6] who followed the example of Diodotus in revolting against the authority of the Seleukidæ. The original revolters, according to my view, were Diodotus, Antimachus Theos, and Pantaleon. The last prince dying early, was succeeded by Agathokles, who was either his younger brother or his son. Diodotus I. was succeeded by his son Diodotus II., to whom I attribute the coins with the title of Soter, minted by Antimachus and Agathokles, who thus acknowledged the supremacy of the Bactrian king. The unique coin bearing the joint names of Euthydemus and Agathokles shows that the latter had been subjected by the

[6] xli. 4.—"Quod exemplum secuti totius Orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere."

former; and to him and to Diodotus II. I would apply the words of Euthydemus in his exculpatory address to Antiochus the Great, that he himself was not a revolter against the power of the Seleukidæ, but, on the contrary, the destroyer of the "descendants of the original rebels."

Diodotus I.

The history of Diodotus and his son is derived from the brief statements of Trogus, Justin, and Strabo. According to these accounts, Diodotus, the Satrap of Bactriana, took advantage of the disturbances which followed the death of Antiochus II. Theos, to make himself independent. The date of his revolt has already been fixed in 246 B.C. The notice of Trogus is limited to the fact that the Bactrian kingdom was founded by Diodotus.[7] Justin's account is brief, but important.[8] "At the same time, also, Theodotus, satrap of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted, and assumed the title of king; following which example, all the people of the East rebelled against the Macedonians. At that time there was one, Arsakes, a man of uncertain origin, but of tried courage, who, accustomed to live by plunder and rapine, having heard a report that Seleukus had been overthrown by the Gauls in Asia, and being thus freed from his fear of the king, invaded Parthia with a band of marauders, defeated their satrap, Andragoras, and, having put him to death, seized the government of the country. Shortly after he also took possession of Hyrkania, and thus, holding rule

[7] Prolegom, xli.—"In Bactrianis autem rebus ut a Diodoto regnum constitutum est."

[8] xli. 4.—"Eodem tempore etiam Theodotus mille urbium Bactrianarum præfectus defecit, regemque se appellari jussit, quod exemplum secuti," &c.

over two nations, he raised a large army through fear of Seleukus and Theodotus, King of the Bactrians. But being soon freed from his fears by the death of Theodotus, he made peace and an alliance with his son, who was also named Theodotus; and not long after he overcame Seleukus, who had advanced to punish the revolters, which day the Parthians have solemnly observed ever since as the beginning of their liberty."

The principal passage of Strabo, which has already been quoted in the disquisition on the date of Bactrian independence, mentions that those "who were entrusted with the government of it first caused the revolt of Bactriana."[9] The name of Diodotus is given in another section of the same chapter,[10] when speaking of Arsakes, who, "withdrawing himself from the growing power of Diodotus, caused the revolt of Parthia." A third passage merely mentions the fact that "Arsakes fled from (Seleukus) Kallinikus, and sought refuge amongst the Aspasiakæ."[11]

The Arsakes referred to in these passages of Justin and Strabo is Tiridates, or Arsakes II. His elder brother was killed in B.C. 248, but the circumstances attending his death are not known. To the year immediately following, or B.C. 247, I would refer the appointment of Andragoras as satrap of Parthia, on the part of Antiochus II. Theos; and to B.C. 246 the flight of Tiridates, or Arsakes II. from Seleukus Kallinikus to the Aspasiakæ,

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[9] Geograph, xi. 9, 2. *τοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ ταῦτα, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἀπέστησαν οἱ πεπιστευμένοι.*

[10] Geograph, xi. 9, 3. *φεύγοντα δὲ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν περὶ Διόδοτον αποστῆσαι τὴν Παρθυαίαν.*

[11] Geograph, xi. 8, 8. *Αρσάκης τὸν Καλλίνικον φεύγων εἰς τοὺς Ασπασιάκας ἐχώρησε.*

as mentioned by Strabo. With these Scythians he would appear to have remained until after the battle of Ankyra, in B.C. 240, where Seleukus was defeated by the Gauls. Tiridates then returned, and, having slain the satrap, Andragoras, took immediate possession of Parthia, and shortly afterwards conquered the neighbouring province of Hyrkania. But after the conclusion of a ten years' peace with Ptolemy, and the subsequent defeat of Antiochus Hierax in B.C. 239, Seleukus was able to direct the whole power of his kingdom for the recovery of the revolted provinces. Accordingly, in 238 B.C., or the following year, Parthia was invaded by Seleukus in person. Tiridates prepared to resist, and raised a large army, partly through fear of Diodotus, King of Bactria. From this statement it may be inferred, either that Seleukus had made overtures to Diodotus, or that Diodotus hoped to obtain the recognition of his independence in return for his assistance. But the death of Diodotus saved the independence of Parthia, as his son and successor, Diodotus II., entered into an alliance with Arsakes against the Syrian king. Seleukus was defeated, and, either at this time or in a subsequent expedition, was taken prisoner;[12] and the day of victory was ever after-

[12] Posidonius, in Athenæus, iv. 38.—"Speaking of Seleukus *the king*, and relating how he came against Media, and warred against Arsakes, and was taken prisoner by the barbarian, and how he remained *a long time* in captivity to Arsakes, being treated like *a king* by him." The writer of the life of Seleukus in Smith's "Dictionary of Biography" disputes the captivity of Kallinikus, and identifies the captive prince as Seleukus, the son of Antiochus Sidetes. But the writer must have overlooked two facts: 1st, that Posidonius calls him *King* Seleukus, του βασιλέως; and 2nd, that Justin expressly states that he had lost his kingdom, *amisso regno* (xxvii. 3). The captivity of Kallinikus is further corroborated by his title of *Pogon*, πωγων,

wards solemnly observed as the beginning of Parthian liberty. The dates of these events cannot be fixed exactly; but as Seleukus was engaged in his wars with Ptolemy and Antiochus Hierax until about B.C. 239, the preparations for the Parthian expedition cannot have been begun before B.C. 238, or the following year, and the death of Diodotus, and the subsequent campaign against Arsakes, must therefore be placed in the years 237 and 236 respectively.

Vaillant originally proposed the year 236 for the death of Diodotus;[13] but he afterwards hesitated, and suggested 234. Bayer adopted the year 243;[14] which Wilson thought too early, and proposed the intermediate date of 240.[15] Lassen assigned B.C. 237,[16] which is the date that I have adopted. This latter date is corroborated by a tetradrachm of Diodotus I. (see Pl. i., fig. 2), which, in addition to the monogram, bears the letter Ξ, equivalent to the year 7; and which, if referred to the Bactrian era of B.C. 246, gives B.C. 240 as the date of the coin.

DIODOTUS II. SOTER.

According to Strabo and Justin, Diodotus I. was King of Bactriana, or of the thousand cities of Bactria, that is, of all the districts to the north of the Indian Caucasus, or

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or "bearded" (Polyb. ii. 5), as the wearing of a beard was not a Syrian but a Parthian custom, which he must have adopted during his captivity. This is rendered almost certain by the fact that Demetrius II., the only other Syrian king who wore a beard, was also a prisoner amongst the Parthians.

[13] Hist. Reg. Syr., p. 60; and Hist. Arsac., i. 4.

[14] Hist. Reg. Bactr., p. 39.

[15] Ariana Antiqua, 217.

[16] Indische Alterthumskunde. II. xxiv.

Bactria, Margiana, and Sagdiana. This is confirmed by the find-spots of his coins, as well as by the mint cities of his monograms, all of which are in ancient Bactriana. Strabo records that, "when the Greeks got possession of the country (of Bactriana) they divided it into satrapies, of which that of Aspionus and Turiva was taken from Eukratides by the Parthians. They possessed Sogdiana also."[17] The satrapy taken by the Parthians must have been in Margiana, which bordered on Parthia, as we know that Eukratides kept possession of Bactria, in which he founded the city of Eukratidia.

The provinces to the south of the Indian Caucasus, or Ariana and the Paropamisadæ, I would assign to Pantaleon and Antimachus, and to them I would refer the statement of Justin that all the other people of the East followed the example of Diodotus.

During the reign of Diodotus I. the small kingdoms of Ariana and the Paropamisadæ retained their independence; but on the accession of his son, Diodotus II., they would appear to have become tributary to Bactria, as shown by the rare coins of Agathokles and Antimachus, with the head of Diodotus Soter on the obverse.[18] On each of these coins Diodotus is the acknowledged suzerain, while the other is only the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ, or "Lieu-tenant" of the king. But from the extreme rarity of these coins I conclude either that the supremacy of Diodotus was of brief duration, or that its acknowledgment was little more than nominal.

Of the history of Diodotus II. nothing has been handed down to us but the bare facts that his reign began by an

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[17] Geograph., xi. 11, 2.
[18] See Pl. ii. fig. 5, and Pl. ii. fig. 2.

alliance with Tiridates, King of Parthia, and was ended by the successful invasion of Euthydemus. As the reign of this last prince was a long one, I conclude that his first attacks on Bactria must have been made about B.C. 230, and that he finally succeeded in dispossessing Diodotus about B.C. 225. To this interval I would assign the coins of Agathokles and Antimachus with the head of Diodotus, as an acknowledgment of supremacy, in return for his assistance against the attacks of Euthydemus. The title of *Soter*, or Preserver, which is applied to Diodotus on these coins only, might thus be naturally referred to the actual succour given by him on this particular occasion.

About B.C. 225 I suppose that both Diodotus and Antimachus were either killed in battle, or otherwise disposed of, while Agathokles was reduced to acknowledge the supremacy of Euthydemus, by placing his head on the obverse of his coins, and by taking himself the inferior title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ. This supposition agrees with the exculpatory statement of Euthydemus to Antiochus the Great, "that it was not just to deprive him of his kingdom, as he had not rebelled against the king, but had acquired possession of Bactriana by dethroning the descendants of those who had first revolted." Taking the words of Polybius in their simple literal meaning, the expression *ἑτέρων ἀποστάντων ἐκείνων ἐκγόνους*[19] cannot possibly refer to the son of Diodotus only, but must also include the descendants of the other revolters, Pantaleon and

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[19] Polybius, x., extract 8. *Καὶ γὰρ ἀυτὸς ἦν ὁ Εὐθύδημος Μάγνης. Πρὸς ὃν ἀπελογίζετο φάσκων, ὡς οὐ δικάιως αὐτον Ἀντίοχος ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβαλεῖν σπούδαζει. Γεγονέναι γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστάτης τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλλ' ἑτέρων ἀποστάντων ἐπανελόμενος τοὺς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνουσι οὕτω κρατῆσαι τῆς Βακτριανῶν ἀρχῆς.*

Antimachus. On the authority of the coins, we can now point out three kings who must have been dispossessed by Euthydemus—namely, Diodotus II., Soter, the son of Diodotus I.; Agathokles, the son of Pantaleon; and the son or daughter of Antimachus I., Theos. At present we know of no children of Antimachus; but it is not improbable that Laodike, the wife of Heliokles, and mother of Eukratides, was his daughter, as it is almost certain that she was of royal descent, otherwise her portrait would not have been placed upon her son's coins. I have already hazarded a conjecture that she may have been the daughter of Agathokles; but I overlooked the important fact that her portrait bears no resemblance whatever to those of Agathokles and Pantaleon, with their very peculiarly-shaped noses; and I am now of opinion that she must have been the daughter of Diodotus II. or of Antimachus. In either case she would have been the descendant of one of the first revolters.

The only mint monogram on the coins of Diodotus II. is No. 2, which I read as *Zariaspa*, the well-known capital of Bactria.

Antimachus I., Theos.

The position of the kingdom of Antimachus is difficult to fix, as his coins are extremely rare, and their find-spots are not certainly known. So far as I have been able to trace them, they have been found in about equal numbers in the Kabul valley and to the north of the Caucasus, while two specimens have been obtained in the Panjab. But as two of his monograms, Nos. 14 and 16, are also found on the coins of many later princes, who certainly did not possess any territory to the north of the Caucasus, it seems most probable that the dominions of Antimachus

were confined to the Kabul valley, with Nagara or Dionysopolis as his capital, as represented by the monograms Nos. 14 and 18, which are found on seventeen of the twenty specimens of his coinage known to me.

The only type on the silver coins of Antimachus is Poseidôn with a palm branch. This points to a naval victory, which could only have taken place on one of the larger rivers, such as the Oxus or the Indus. On his unique copper coin the figure of Victory, standing on the prow of a vessel, also points to a successful naval engagement, which the obverse type of the elephant refers directly to India. I conclude, therefore, that Antimachus must have forced the passage of the Indus. In illustration of this view I may cite a passage from Diodorus,[20] describing the assemblage of a fleet of 2,000 boats on the Indus to oppose the passage of Semiramis. This alone would not be of much value; but when we find that in A.D. 1025 a fleet of 4,000 boats was actually collected by the Jâts on the same river to oppose the passage of Mahmud of Ghazni,[21] with a fleet of 1,400 vessels, we may be satisfied that a naval action on a large scale might easily have taken place in the time of Antimachus.

I should perhaps have been inclined to place Antimachus in Margiana, and to fix the scene of his naval victory on the Oxus, were it not that his monograms Nos. 16 and 18 point most unequivocally to the Kabul valley as the true position of his kingdom. Out of twenty specimens of his coinage known to me, there are twelve which bear the monogram of *Nagara,* and five that of

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[20] Hist. ii. 74. The Indian commander was named Staurobates.

[21] Briggs's Ferishta, i. 81.

Dionysopolis, while two are of *Kartana* and only one of *Kapissa*. Taking the readings of the monograms in conjunction with the indication of the elephant as a type of India, it seems to me impossible to withstand the conclusion that Antimachus must have reigned over the lower half of the Kabul valley, with Nagara or Dionysopolis as his capital. The monograms of Kapissa and Kartana (Nos. 15 and 16) show that for a short time he must have extended his authority to the upper end of the Kabul valley, which is confirmed by the entire absence of these two monograms on the coins of Agathokles. It may also be inferred that after his naval victory on the Indus his dominion was extended eastward as far as Taxila.

The French savant, Raoul Rochette, has suggested that the naval victory of Antimachus may perhaps refer to some assistance given by him to the King of Syria in a naval engagement with the King of Egypt.[22] But as the dominions of Antimachus were one thousand miles from the ocean, and as the only naval armament of Seleukus Kallinikus against the King of Egypt was destroyed by a storm, it seems to me quite impossible that the naval victory typified on the coins of Antimachus can have any reference to Syria.

The only objection that occurs to me against the position in the Kabul valley, which I have proposed for the kingdom of Antimachus, is the fact that about one half of his coins have been procured to the north of the Caucasus. But the number of his coins at present known is too few to afford a safe guide for fixing the locality of his kingdom. The position of Margiana accords best with the actual find-spots of his coins; but as they are all of silver,

[22] Journal des Savants, Février, 1863, p. 82.

excepting only the unique copper coin procured in Sistan, their testimony is not sure, as every one of them may have been carried from its original country by some merchant, either of ancient or of modern times. I must confess, therefore, that I am not disposed to accord much weight to their single evidence, while their number is so small.

No argument can be founded on the absence of Indian legends on the coins of Antimachus, as these legends are uniformly confined to the square copper money of the earlier kings. The round copper coins of his contemporaries, Pantaleon and Agathokles, and of his immediate successors, Euthydemus and Demetrius, as well as of the later king, Eukratides, bear Greek legends only; and as the single copper coin of Antimachus Theos is a round one, we must await the discovery of some specimen of his square copper money for decisive evidence on this point.

Pantaleon.

The coins of Pantaleon are found chiefly about Ghazni and Kabul, but a few have been obtained about Peshâwar and in the Western Panjab. As Masson procured seven copper specimens at Begram, it is certain that the kingdom of Pantaleon must have extended to the north of Kabul; but his coins are still too rare to afford sufficient evidence of the actual extent of his territory. Those of his successor, Agathokles, are, however, much more common; and as single copper specimens have been found as far to the south as Kandahar and Sistan, while they are common about Kabul and Begram, I infer that he must have ruled over Arachosia and the Western Paropamisadæ. This view is corroborated by the monograms (Nos. 3 and 10) on the coins of both princes, which I read as Ophiane

and Arachotus. The legends of their copper coins, which are in the Indian character and language, also show that the province over which they ruled must have been either in India itself, or closely bordering upon it. This condition is fulfilled by the territory which I have already assigned to them on the joint evidence of the find-spots and monograms of their coins. The Kabul valley, or country of the Paropamisadæ, was essentially an Indian province, which had been ceded by Seleukus Nikator to Sandrokottus, or Chandra-Gupta. The religion of the country also was Indian Buddhism, which had lately been introduced by the missionaries of Asoka; and the money was purely Indian, of the same indigenous types as those on the coinage of the neighbouring district of Taxila. Even the Buddhist *Chaitya* and Sacred Tree are found on one of the coins of Agathokles (see Pl. ii., fig. 7). The head of Bacchus, which is found on the curious nickel coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, may also be supposed to refer to India, as Bacchus was the mythical conqueror of India.

As the silver, nickel, and round copper coins of Pantaleon are at present unique, while his square copper coins are still rare, his reign must certainly have been short. We may therefore, for the sake of convenience, fix its termination in B.C. 237, in the same year as the death of Diodotus I.

Agathokles Dikaios.

The position of the kingdom of Agathokles has already been discussed, as well as his relationship to Pantaleon, whose older portrait shows that he must have been either the father or the elder brother of Agathokles. To this I may now add the evidence afforded by one of his extremely

rare copper coins (Pl. ii., fig. 7, of which only three specimens are known) which bears the curious legend of *Akathukreyasa Hinduja Samê*, or "Agathokles, King of the Indians," in Indian Pali characters. His other coins, in silver, nickel, and copper, which bear his own name only, are similar in all respects to those of Pantaleon. But there are three highly interesting and important silver coins which offer the name of Agathokles on the reverse, but on the obverse give the portraits and names of three other kings, namely, Diodotus Soter, Euthydemus Theos, and Antiochus Nikator (see Pl. ii., figs. 1, 2, and 3), each of whom in turn must have been acknowledged by Agathokles as his suzerain, or lord paramount. His career, therefore, must have been a chequered one; and as his coins are common, his reign was most probably a long one. But unfortunately history does not afford us even a single hint on which we might base a probable account of his career; so that we have conjecture only to guide us in connecting together the few facts derived from his coins.

I have already discussed the bearings of the coin with the joint names of Agathokles and Diodotus Soter, which I have conjectured to have been struck towards the end of the reign of Diodotus, or after B.C. 232, when Agathokles and Antimachus being pressed by Euthydemus, applied to Diodotus for aid against the common enemy, and in return acknowledged the supremacy of the Bactrian king. In this struggle Euthydemus prevailed, and Diodotus and Antimachus were destroyed (ἐπανελόμενος), while Agathokles alone escaped by becoming tributary to Euthydemus, as shown by the unique coin in Pl. ii., fig. 2. This event most probably did not take place until after the death of Diodotus, as I presume that the

first efforts of Euthydemus were directed against the powerful kingdom of Bactria, which was readily accessible from Aria and Margiana, the early kingdom of Euthydemus. The subjection of Agathokles I would therefore fix about B.C. 228. But it is perhaps equally probable that Agathokles may have saved his kingdom by making a timely submission to Euthydemus before the death of Diodotus, in which case the coin bearing the joint names of Agathokles and Euthydemus may have been struck as early as B.C. 230.

The date of the third coin with the joint names of Agathokles and Antiochus Nikator, is even more difficult to fix, as the title of Nikator is not known to have been assumed by any prince bearing the name of Antiochus. I infer, however, that this must have been the youthful title of Antiochus III., before his eastern expedition obtained for him the loftier title of *Megas*, or "the Great." This inference is based on a passage of Joannes Malalas,[23] which has been quoted by Clinton for the purpose of noting that Malalas has confounded Seleukus Keraunos with his brother Antiochus III. The words are, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Νικατωρ, ἔτη λς'. Now, Alexander is known to have been the original name of Seleukus Keraunos, as Clinton has pointed out,[24] but he has taken no notice of the new title of Nikator. From the coin now under review, we learn that some king of the name of Antiochus actually did bear the title of Nikator; and as this title is applied by Malalas to the successor of Seleukus Kallinikos,

[23] Fasti Hellenici, ii. 313, and iii. 315.

[24] Fasti Hellenici, ii. 313, quoting Eusebius: "Huic successit filius Alexander, qui maluit dici Seleucus, ab exercitu autem Ceraunus vocitatus est. Is habuit etiam fratrem nomine Antiochum."

to whom he assigns a reign of thirty-six years, the king intended by him must be Antiochus the Great, as his elder brother Seleukus bore the title of Keraunos, and reigned only three years, while thirty-six years was the exact duration of the reign of Antiochus, to whom also no title is assigned by history during the first eighteen years of his sovereignty.

Antiochus began to reign in B.C. 223, when he was only in his fifteenth year. Taking advantage of his youth, the two brothers Molon and Alexander, satraps of Media and Persia, revolted, and made themselves masters of all the eastern provinces of the kingdom beyond the Tigris. But in B.C. 220 the rebellion was suppressed by Antiochus in person, who, following up his success, reduced the province of Media Atropatene, which had previously formed an independent kingdom. In consequence of this success, I presume that he was saluted by his troops with the title of *Nikator*, like as his elder brother Seleukus had been saluted with the title of Keraunos by his army. To this period, therefore, I would refer the coin of Agathokles with the portrait of Antiochus Nikator, as I conclude that Agathokles would naturally have taken advantage of the presence of Antiochus in Media to make an attempt to free himself from the hated yoke of Euthydemus. To secure this end, I suppose him to have proffered his submission to Antiochus, and to have invited him to the easy conquest of the provinces of Bactriana and Ariana, which had revolted from his father Seleukus Kallinikos. But the success of the youthful king had excited his ambition, and he gave up the almost certain prospect of recovering the eastern provinces of his kingdom for the more dazzling but doubtful chance of a war with Ptolemy Philopator, in which he was signally defeated at Raphia, near Gaza. The return of Antiochus to Syria in the following year

left Agathokles entirely at the mercy of Euthydemus, and I conclude, therefore, that in the same year, or B.C. 220, he was deprived of his dominions, from which time Euthydemus became the sole master of all the eastern provinces of Alexander's empire, or Bactriana, Ariana, and India.

In illustration of my conjecture that Agathokles wished to free himself from the yoke of Euthydemus, I may point to the monograms of the three coins, on which he successively acknowledges the supremacy of Diodotus, Euthydemus, and Antiochus. On the first I read the monogram (No. 11) as *Diodoteia*, which I take to be the city of Alexandreia Opiane, re-named by Agathokles in honour of Diodotus. On the second coin the new name is dropped as uncomplimentary to Euthydemus, the antagonist of Diodotus, and the old monogram (No. 3), of Ophiane itself is again brought forward. But on the third coin, on which he hails Antiochus as *Nikator*, or the "Conqueror" of the East, he resumes the use of the previous monogram of *Diodoteia*, which he had been obliged to give up during the supremacy of Euthydemus.

This scheme for the career of Agathokles will require to be slightly modified, should the date of the fall of Diodotus and the rise of Euthydemus be brought down lower, or to B.C. 220. The first coin with the name of Diodotus would then date about B.C. 222, and that with the name of Antiochus in B.C. 220, while that with the name of Euthydemus would be the latest of the three, and would date about B.C. 218. But as the coins of Euthydemus are very common, and as his portraits exhibit both extreme youth and old age, I am satisfied that the date of B.C. 225, which I have already assigned for his accession, is not too early.

(*To be continued.*)

V.

ROMAN COINS FOUND ON SALISBURY PLAIN.

Mr. Thomas D. E. Gunston, having kindly placed in my hands for examination a large number of small brass Roman coins (about 1850), discovered a few years since, I forward a condensed account of them to the subscribers and readers of *The Numismatic Chronicle.*

They were dug up at the depth of about two feet, by some labourers while working on Salisbury Plain. They had been buried in a coarse earthen jar, the fragments of which were found with the coins, the vessel itself being broken, most probably, by the excavators. Mr. Gunston also states that a much smaller earthen vessel was also found, containing about twenty similar coins, which passed into the hands of some gentleman in the county.

As the coins belong to a class very common and well-known, I have refrained, in order to avoid needless expense in printing, from noting the numerous minute varieties always observable in so great a number of coins, especially of this class. But I have carefully noted the exergual lettering, which is of considerable interest. It will be seen that by far the larger quantity is contributed by the mints of Treviris, Londinium, Lugdunum, and Arelatum.

Mr. Madden, in his excellent "Handbook of Roman

Numismatics," which may be referred to generally for abbreviations of the places of mintage, makes some remarks on Arelatum taking the name of Constantina when Constantine restored and enlarged it by building on the opposite side of the Rhone. In this collection we have, on coins of the younger Constantine and Constantius Junior, both ARL. and CONS., the latter being so identical in design with the former as to leave no doubt whatever that the two names indicate one and the same place.

It has been proposed to assign coins with PLC. and PLN. to Londinium instead of Lugdunum (Lyons); but here comparison determines that they cannot claim the same parentage as those with P.LON. These two divisions are as unlike as they possibly can be in design and general character; and they point to two different towns. I was struck with the same conviction when examining, several years ago, some hundreds of coins of the Constantine family found in France; and, as asserted, in the neighbourhood of Lyons. Mr. Gunston's collection gives forty of the altar type, with PLC in the exergue; and twenty-six with PLON. On the former, the legend is always at full length, BEATA TRANQVILLITAS, and unbroken. The latter uniformly exhibits the second word broken by the altar, and spelt TRANQLITAS. The obverse of the PLC, with three exceptions, has the laureated head to the right; that of the P.LON. bears the head, sometimes laureated, sometimes helmeted, both to the right and to the left: the letters in the field of the latter are B. P.; in those of the former, C. R.

Of Crispus, thirty-six of the altar type bear PLC. Of these thirty-four, with one exception, have the head, laureated, to the right. The remaining two bear the

helmeted head to the left. Of P.LON. there are sixty-seven; all, save two, bear the head to the left. The word *Tranquillitas* is, as in the P.LON. coins of his father, spelt TRANQLITAS. The same remarks apply to these coins of Constantius Junior.

Licinius.

	Number.
SOLI INVICTO COMITI. The sun standing (*Very badly preserved*)	1
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG.: in exergue SMK. Jupiter standing	2
Idem. Jupiter upon an eagle. In exergue STR . .	3
ROMAE AETERNAE: in the field P.R., in the exergue R.Q. Rome seated, holding a shield, upon which is $\frac{X}{V}$.	1
VICTORIA AVGG. NN.: in exergue TSA. Victory marching	1
VICTORIAE LAET PRINC PERP: in the exergue two captives	1
VOT. XX in a wreath, round which is DOMINI N. LICINI AVG.: in exergue AQS.—TT.—ST.	9
VOT. XX in a wreath, and around it DN LICINI AVGVSTI: in the exergue S.A. . . . . Although all of these 13 are from the same place of mintage, yet they present several variations as regards details.	13
VOT XX in a labarum, under which are two captives seated; around, VIRTVS EXERCIT.: in exergue, AQS. —ESIS—S.R.	3

Licinius the Younger.

VOT. V in a wreath: around, CAESARVM NOSTRORVM: in exergue Q.A.	3
VOT XX in a labarum between two seated captives: in the exergue STR	5
Idem. A trophy and captives, STR	1

Number.

VOT V, in a wreath; around, DOMINORVM NOSTRORVM CAESS. *Obv.* LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C: laureated head to the right 1

This is not in Banduri or Tanini; but it is given by Cohen as in the Danish collection.

Favsta.

SALVS REIPVBLICAE. A woman with two children in her arms.—ST and P.TR 13

Idem, with P.LON. in the exergue 2

Helena.

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. A woman holding a branch. In the exergues, ST.—STR.—STRE.—P.TR.—P.TRE. 13

Constantinus.

BEATA TRANQVILLITAS; an altar on which is VOTIS XX; in the field, C.R; in the exergue PLC . . 40

Idem, with PTR and STR in the exergue . . . 293

BEATA TRANQLITAS (*sic*) in the field, B.F.: in the exergue P.LON 26

One of these, with head radiated to the left, and sceptre with eagle, seems a new variety.

PROVIDENTIAE CA....Gate of a castrum . . . 1

PROVIDENTIAE AVGG.—*Idem* 1

ARLP.—ARLS.—P.AR.—P.ARL. Q.AR.—S. ARL (14)—SMNϵ (1)—SMANTA (1)—ASIS (3)—R.P. (2)—PLC. (5), P.LON (1)—PTR and STR (62) . . . 89

ROMAE AETERNAE. Rome seated, R.T. . . . 1

SARMATIA DEVICTA—Victory, etc. S.AR. (7) from seven different dies; PLC. (7)—PLON (5)—SIRM (1)—PTR and STR (113)—Illegible (6) 139

VOT V in a wreath; around, CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG.; laureated head to the right 1

This does not appear to be in Banduri or Tanini, nor is it in Cohen with this obverse.

Number.

VOT X. As the foregoing: ARL.—Q.AR.—Q.R.—P.TR.—ST.—ΓSIS. 11

VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two winged figures holding a shield inscribed PR VOT upon a cippus—P.ARL.—PLC., PLN.—ASIS, BSIS.—STR. PPR. 45

VOT. XX in wreath; around, DN CONSTANTINI MAX AVG.—ARL.P.—P.A. P.AR.—S.AR. (30)—AQ.P. (3)—A.SIS., B.SIS., ΓSIS (3)—PR and RP (20)—P.T., Q.T., R.T., S.T., TT. (78)—TSAVI and TSTVI. (18)—Illegible (28)—P.LON. (5) 180

VIRTVS AVGG. Gate of a castrum. ARLS., SARL (4) RK and RT (2). 6

VIRTVS EXERCIT. Trophy and captives. PTR. . 5

VIRTVS EXERCIT. Captives under a standard inscribed VOT. XX.—P.ARL. (1)—AQ.P. (1)—PLC (4) PLN (4)—P.LON (1)—A.SIS and ЄSIS (3)—TSЄ (1)—T.T. (4)—PTR and STR (30) 49

Crispus.

BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Altar inscribed VOTIS XX: in exergue, P.LON. (67)—PLC (36)—PTR and STR (82) 185

Idem; in field, C.R.; in exergue, PLC. *Obv.*, CRISPVS N.C. COS II. Laureated head to the left; sceptre surmounted by an eagle 1

D N CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG.; around, VOT X in a wreath; in the exergue, AQ.P. *Obv.* CRISPVS NOB CAES. Naked head to the right 1

I do not find this in Banduri or in Tanini.

VICT. LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two winged figures holding a shield, inscribed $\frac{\text{VOT}}{\text{PR}}$ over a cippus, in which is S.; in the exergue, ЄSIS 2

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Gate of a castrum. T.ARL. R.Q.—PLC.—PLON. (3)—TR., PTR, STR, STRE. . 30

Idem, with shield on altar, PLN. 1

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	Number
VIRTVS EXERCIT. Captives and trophy, STR . .	2
Idem, captives under a standard, inscribed VOT X, or VOT XX—PLN—TSA.—PSIS	14
VOT V within a wreath; around, CAESARVM NOSTRORUM; exergual marks, Q.AR.—AQ.S.—RT, QR.—ASIS, ϵSIS.—TR. P.TR.—PLCC. TSAVI.—Some illegible	28
VOT X, as the preceding—ARL.Q., Q.AR.—T.AR., ARL.T. AQ.S.—S.AVL.—RT.—T.A.—ASIS, ϵSIS, PSIS.—RT.—TT.—T.A.—TAL.—PLC.—P.LON. (14)—PTR. and STR.	134
Of these, RT, of which there is only one, is the best work.	
Idem; around, DOMINOR. (or DOMINORVM), NOSTRORVM CAESS:—P.T.—TT—S.T.—Q.T. . .	6

Constantinus Junior.

BEATA TRANQVILLITAS around an altar, inscribed VOTIS XX. Exergual letters, PLON (87)—PLC (31)—PTR and STR (53)	171
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Gate of a castrum. AR. (1)—Q.CONS. (1)—PLC (1)—PLON. (9)—SMTSΔ. (2)—Q.R., Rϵ. (13)—PTR, PTRE, STR, STRE (45) . .	72
ROMAE AETERNAE. Rome seated, holding a shield, on which is $\frac{X}{V}$; in exergue, RϵQCS; another with RT. .	2
VIRTVS CAESS. Gate of castrum. ARLT, TARL; in the field of some, S.F. (10)—T.CONST.; in the field, S.F. (1). The last is identical in design with the others	11
VIRTVS EXERCIT. Two captives seated; between them a standard, inscribed VOT XX.—STR PLN.—TS.—TSP.—P.LON.—Γ.SIS.	13
VOT. V, in a wreath; around, CAESARVM NOSTRORVM AQT (1)—QA (5)—RS (2)—SIS (2)—Doubtful (3) .	13
Idem, DOMINORVM NOSTRORVM CAESS—SIS (1)—PT (2)—Q.T. (1)—Doubtful (2)	6

Number.

VOT. X, in a wreath; CAESARVM NOSTRORVM—Q.AR. (15)—AQ.T (4)—P.LCC (3)—P.LON. (7)—R.T. (2)—STR and PTR (63)—A, or B, or Є,SIS (14)—TSBVI (5)—TT. (1)—Illegible (34) . . . 148

VOT. XX, in a wreath; DN.CONSTANTINI MAX AVG.; in exergue, TT. 1

VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two winged figures holding a shield, inscribed $\frac{\text{VOT}}{\text{PR}}$ upon an altar—PLN 8

Constantius Junior.

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Gate of a castrum. ARLQ, QARL.—Q.CONST.—MNS (?)—SMNΔ.—S.T, S.TR., S.TRE., P.TR.—ASII (?)—P.LON (1) . . . 42

The S.T. may not belong to Treves; it is of somewhat different work, and but few occur with this mark. Mr. De Salis thinks it is of Tarraco.

VIRTVS CAES. Camp gate.—ARL.Q. and Q.ARL. . 1

VIRTVS EXERCIT. A trophy between two seated captives; in the exergue, PTR 1

VOT. XX, in a wreath; DN.CONSTANTINI MAX AVG; in exergue, TT. 1

I do not find this type, in brass, mentioned in Banduri or in Tanini.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A soldier transfixing with his spear an overthrown horseman. (*Badly preserved*) . 1

Illegible 48

C. Roach Smith.

VI.

REMARKS ON THE COINS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON AND DANISH KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

After a careful study of the coins of Northumbria, I venture to invite attention to them, and to suggest a re-arrangement of some of them. It will be necessary to introduce into their proper places those coins which have not hitherto been sufficiently recognised as Northumbrian; but, also, I wish to attempt a separation and rearrangement of the coins of the Ethelreds, Sitrics, Regnalds, and Anlafs. These have hitherto been confounded, and have been classed as though they had each been issued by but one of the kings who bore those names.

I hope not to be thought tedious if I briefly mention each king in the series, beginning with the kings to whom coins may with certainty be assigned. Although the kingdom of Northumberland was founded by Ida, A.D. 547, we cannot trace any coins, specially issued for its use, during the first 123 years of its existence.

Ecgfrith, A.D. 670—685,

the sixth king of Northumberland, still takes the lead in the recognised coins of Northumbria. The one type, with its irradiated cross, and its declaration legend of

ETHILVALD & ARCHBP. EGGBERHT.

1

AR

1a

ALCHRED.

2

AR

EANRED.

OSBERGHT. (& VIILSIUS?)

4

Æ

5

Æ

6

Æ

AELLA.

7

Æ

8

Æ

BEOM OR BEORN.

9

Æ

10

Æ

HALFDEN.

11

AR

12

AR

EARL SITRIC.

13

AR

ALVALD.

14

AR

"Lux," remains as rare as ever; the four or five coins found at Heworth are the only specimens known. (Rud. App. pl. 28. Hawk. 99.) The word "Lux" may have reference to Ecgfrith's zealous support of religion, and to his liberal patronage of the churches of York and Durham.

ALDFRITH, A.D. 685—705,

called by Eddius "most wise," is still represented by only two coins, both of the type with a rude Quadruped; one of them, a copper styca (Hawk. 100.), formerly in Mr. Cuff's collection, is now in the British Museum. The other, a silver sceatta (Hawk. 101.), formerly in Mr. Loscombe's collection, is now in my possession.

After this king we have to regret a break in the series for thirty-three years, and, perhaps, no coins were issued by some of the following kings. We have none of—

EADWULF, A.D. 705, who reigned only two months; of

OSRED, A.D. 705—716, a son of Aldfrith; of

COENRED, (or Cenred) A.D. 716—718, a lineal descendant of Ida; of

OSRIC, A.D. 718—731, another son of Aldfrith; nor of

CEOLWULF, A.D. 731—737, known as the friend of Bede, and who afterwards retired as a monk; and made way for

EADBERHT, A.D. 738—759,

the son of Eata, of whom we have several coins; some of these have the Quadruped type; but some (without the Quadruped) have the name and figure of his brother, Ecgberht, Archbishop of York. (See Rud. and Hawk.) On these coins the king's name is spelt some-

times "Eadberhtus," with the Quadruped to the right, and sometimes "Eotberehtus," with the Quadruped to the left. The last type is the most common. He retired to a cloister; and

OSULF, or OSWULF, A.D. 759, succeeded for a few months, of whom no coins are known.

ETHILWALD (Moll Ethilwald), A.D. 759—765.

It is said that two coins exist of this reign, but only one has been seen by me; both of them, from different dies, have also the name of Archbishop Ecgberht on one side. (See plate Nos. 1, 1A, and Num. Chron., vol. iii. p. 154.) The silver sceatta, No. 1, is in my collection, having formerly belonged to Mr. Dymock. A bad drawing of the other coin is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1832; but is apparently more correctly drawn in Arch. vol. xxvi. 3. I have therefore copied it in our plate No. 1A. Where the coin itself is, I do not know. Ecgberht continued Archbishop during the seven years of Ethilwald's reign, and there can be no doubt that these coins were issued by the Archbishop's authority—an authority which had been granted by his royal brother, Eadberht, and was renewed, as it appears, during the reign of Ethilwald. On the ecclesiastical coins of Eadberht's reign, and on those of Ethilwald's, the usual Quadruped is wanting.

ALCHRED, A.D. 765—774.

On these coins we again have the Quadruped, looking to the right. Only four specimens of this king's mintage are known; of which three are in the British Museum; the fourth (plate No. 2.) is in my cabinet, and was purchased at the Dymock sale. All are from different dies.

ETHELRED (I.), A.D. 774—778,

son of Moll Ethilwald, reigned for four years, and was then deposed; but, after twelve years of exile, he was restored, A.D. 790, for four years more. I have examined many hundred coins of the Ethelreds, and compared their moneyers and the workmanship with coins of preceding and succeeding kings, in the hope of distinguishing the coins of Ethelred, the son of Ethilwald, from those of the king with a similar name (Ethilred), who reigned forty-six years afterwards. Each of these kings reigned an equal term of only eight years; and it seems unreasonable to conclude that all the coins which exist, and which amount to many thousands, and are very different in type and workmanship, were issued by only one of them. The *unrecorded* presence amidst large hoards of Ethelred's coins of any coin of Elfwald, who reigned for nearly nine years, between the deposition and the restoration of the son of Ethilwald, has hitherto led to the supposition that all the known coins of Ethelred and Ethilred must belong to the son of Eanred. But it is probable that the only three coins of Elfwald which are known, were found in company with stycas of Ethelred, although the fact was never recorded.

It seems natural to suppose that the coins with the name of Ethilred, with the Quadruped, and which are by Leofdegn, the moneyer, and are nearly as scarce as the coins of Elfwald, must belong to the first Ethelred son of Ethilwald, and were struck during the first four years of his reign, and previous to his restoration. This probably was the case; and this coin would thus continue the Northumbrian Quadruped type unto the end of the reign of Elfwald. The same trefoil ornament found on the coins

of Eadberht, is found also on these coins, and seems to connect them with the previous reigns, and to place them next in succession to the coins of Alchred. This is the first and only instance of a moneyer's name appearing on coins of the Quadruped type; and as it seems to have been a rule after the restoration of Ethelred that every coin should bear the moneyer's name and title, the Quadruped would manifestly be an inconvenient type for an inscription, on so small a coin. Hence, after Ethelred's restoration, other types were adopted. The invariable form of spelling the king's name with an I on these rare coins, is the chief fact which appears to tell against my own theory, in the following attempt to separate the coinage of the Ethelreds; but there may have been some reason, unknown to us, for the alteration of the name, when the type was changed after the restoration.

I may at once say that I consider all the coins, with the above exception, which have the second syllable of the king's name spelt with an E, to be the oldest; and to belong to Ethelred, the son of Ethilwald, after his restoration. And, all those coins with the second syllable spelt with an I, to belong to Ethilred, the son of Eanred, who reigned, with a short interruption, from A.D. 840 to A.D. 848. Now there is more systematic uniformity in the mode of spelling and of engraving the names of these two kings than at first appears. I observe, that generally speaking, they may *all* be arranged into two forms—either Ethelred, Æthelred; or Ethilred, Æthilred. Occasionally, but comparatively not often, blunders occur in these names; such as Elred for Ethelred, or Aeilred for Æthilred; but such blundered legends can generally be traced to one or other of the above forms.

The evidence which seems to justify the suggestion of

the arrangement is this: The coins having Ethelred with an E are much less numerous than those with an I, and most of them appear to be much worn by circulation; thus suggesting that they belong to an earlier reign. Amongst the large hoards found at Hexham, Kirk-Oswald, and York, the coins with an I were by far the most numerous; and all these hoards contained coins of Redulf, and of Osbercht, who reigned after the second Ethilred. I am therefore inclined to give the later date to the coins with an I, which are the most numerous; of the thirty-one moneyers which are known, only nine have the king's name spelt Ethelred; while twenty-two have Ethilred, almost without exception. Again, some confirmation of this arrangement may be derived from the names of the moneyers which appear on the coins of other kings. Out of the eleven names which are found as moneyers on the coins of Redulf (who usurped Ethilred's throne during a few months of the year 844), no less than eight appear upon coins with Ethilred; and five out of the eight are found upon the coins of no other king. Again, three of the moneyers' names which are found in connection with Redulf and Ethilred, are also found on coins of Archbishop Vigmund, who held the see of York during the latter part of the reign of the last Ethilred; and none of these names appear on the numerous coins of Eanred, his father. The identity of type, letters, and moneyers, and the peculiarity of the workmanship on coins of Ethilred and Redulf is to be noticed—such, *e.g.*, as the coins of the moneyers ALGHERE and VENDEL-BEARHT; and on all these coins the name is invariably spelt Ethilred. Again, there are a few moneyers whose names are common to coins only of Ethelred and Eanred; and I suppose that as these moneyers are not found on

the coins with an I (some of which coins undoubtedly belong to Redulf's period), those on which they appear belong to the king who reigned before Eanred.

There are a few names of moneyers which appear on coins of both Ethelred, and Ethilred: such, *e.g.*, as "Leofdegn," "Monne," and "Fordred:" and it may be urged against my arrangement, that this fact points to an absence of any fixed rule of spelling the name, even by the same moneyer. But I deny that they are the same moneyers. It will be evident from a careful examination of the coins that there is considerable difference in the workmanship, and in the character of the letters of these moneyers; and the conclusion is, that though the names of the moneyers are similar, yet the persons that engraved them are different. It is manifest, for example, that there must have been two, or three "Leofdegn"s, and two "Monne"s; the workmanship of the coins is manifestly so different. The letter G in the moneyer's name Leofdegn is found in two or three different forms on different coins. On the Quadruped type the form of the letter differs entirely from that upon the others; which, again, have a form peculiarly their own. After the restoration of Ethelred, Leofdegn's coins have the letters smaller and neater, than on the coins of Ethilred with the same moneyer's name, which are comparatively of very coarse workmanship. It is curious that there should be no coins of King Eanred with the moneyer's name Leofdegn—at least, I have seen none. Redulf's usurpation was of so short a duration, that probably there was no distinction between the coins before and after the restoration of Ethilred.

Thus much for the evidence from the *coins* themselves. If we turn to documentary evidence for the spelling of the names, we can get little help. Few notices, if any, of

these kings exist which are contemporary with the coins; and each writer seems to have followed his own fancy in spelling names, and things. I have endeavoured to bring together a few facts with the hope of clearing up this difficult matter, and of laying down some rule by which collectors may at least separate these coins. We must now pass on to the reign of

ELFWALD, A.D. 779—788.

I believe only three coins of this king are known to exist: one is in the British Museum (Hawk. 108), on which the reading of the king's name is very doubtful; and two are in my collection (Hawk. 106 and 107). He was "slain by his patrician Sigan," and was succeeded by his nephew,

OSRED, A.D. 789—790,

of whom no coins are known. He was expelled, and

ETHELRED, A.D. 790—794,

was again restored.

I have already said enough about his coins, and will now only refer to a few typical specimens of this portion of his reign, as drawn in Adamson's plates, *e.g.*, Rud. 153 to 160, and 181 to 201; also 244 and 255 to 272. Ethelred was murdered by his subjects, and was succeeded for a few days by OSBALD; after whom was

HEARDULF, A.D. 794—806.

Several coins are assigned to this king; but it is doubted by some whether they were issued by him. The name, which is never followed by the title R, or REX (and in this respect is like most of his predecessors), is found

apparently as a moneyer in conjunction with the obverse of Eanred rex. The following combinations are found :—

Heardulf	—	Herreth.
Heardulf	—	Eadvini.
Heardulf	—	Eanred rex.
Eanred rex	—	Herreth.
Eanred rex	—	Eadvini.
Herreth	—	Herreth.
Herreth	—	Edeund.
Herreth	—	Enu rex.
Herreth	—	Daegbert.

Thus the name Heardulf on these coins is probably that of a king, and he and Eanred may have had the same moneyers, Herreth and Eadvini. Herreth indeed seems to have been a blunderer, and his mistakes have suggested the idea that Heardulf's name is that of a fellow moneyer. However, the real moneyer on Eanred's and Ethelred's coins is generally spelt Eardulf. It is pleasant to maintain that Heardulf is represented in the series of coins of Northumbria, and as there is good reason to believe that he is truly so, I propose to keep these coins where Mr. Hawkins has placed them.

Alfwold, a.d. 806—808,

has no coins existing. I should have been inclined to suspect that the coin given to Elfwald (Hawk. 107) and reading ALEFVALD, might have been issued by this king, but the obverses of the two coins, Hawk. 106 and 107, are from the same die, although the king's names on the reverses are spelt differently; and there can be no doubt that Hawk. 106, is a coin of Elfwald.

Eanred, a.d. 808—840.

His copper stycas are very numerous, and several silver sceattas were coined by him. But this reign is remarkable

for the first appearance of *a silver penny* among the coins of Northumberland. In a paper read before the Numismatic Society in March, 1868, I have stated, and still maintain my belief, that this penny (at present unique, see plate No. 3) bears testimony to an attempt having been made during Eanred's reign to introduce into Northumbria a silver coinage similar to that which was used in other parts of England. Collectors are familiar with silver coins of the size of the sceat issued by this king, and inscribed with his name; and on these coins the moneyers' names are the same as those found on the stycas. But the name of the moneyer ÐES, which appear on the silver penny, is found on no other known coin, and is apparently a French name. There was considerable intercourse between France and England at this time, as is proved by the French coins that are almost always found with Anglo-Saxon coins of the ninth century. It is therefore probable that a Frenchman was selected to make a die for the *penny* coinage for Eanred, but that such a coinage was not at this time acceptable to the Northumbrians. It is possible that the silver sceat began to be used about the time of this attempt, but it does not appear to have been much in favour, for they are not very common. In the succeeding reign Ethilred seems to have made another attempt to introduce the silver sceat, but without success, for only one or two specimens are known to exist. It was not till thirty or forty years after the death of Eanred that the stycas altogether disappear, and a silver coinage of pennies and half-pennies took their place. The silver *penny* of Eanred—which is remarkable as being the only Northumbrian coin (except the few Danish Northumbrian coins of Regnald's) which has a *head* upon it—was amongst the hoard of Anglo-

Saxon coins found at Trewhiddle in Cornwall in 1774, on an estate which belonged to my relation, Mr. John Rashleigh, from whom it passed at once into the collection which has come to me. (A minute description of this hoard is given in vol. viii., N.S., page 137, of the Numismatic Chronicle.) After a reign of 32 years, Eanred was succeeded by his son

ETHILRED (II.), A.D. 840—844.

So much has been said already about the coins of this reign, I will only add, that of the specimens of the coins of Ethelred and Ethilred, which are engraved in Ruding's plates, 120 have the name spelt Ethelred, and 264 Ethilred; and the same kind of proportion is observable in all the public and private collections that I have examined. I may mention the private collections of Mr. Boyne, and of Mr. Fairless of Hexham, as containing a considerable number of these stycas.

REDULPH, A.D. 844,

usurped the throne, and held the power for a few months only. But he was busy with his mints during that time; for his coins are by no means scarce, and we have the names of at least ten or eleven of his moneyers. He was killed in battle against the pagans at Alvetheleie, and

ETHILRED, A.D. 844—848,

was again restored; but in less than four years he was also slain, and was succeeded by

OSBERCHT, A.D. 848—862.

His coins are not scarce, but they are generally very rudely executed, and are struck in copper and brass. There are some stycas of this reign which, from the pecu-

liarity of the crosses in the legend, have been supposed to bear an ecclesiastical appearance, and to have been connected with Archbishop Wulsius (see plate, 4, 5, 6); but that Archbishop held the see during the reign of Eanred, and therefore the name must refer to another Wulsius. In the year 862, Osbercht was expelled from Bernicia, and Ælla was chosen king of that part of Northumbria. When the Danes seized York these kings united their forces to expel the invaders, but they were defeated, and both kings were slain, A.D. 867.

ÆLLA, A.D. 862—867.

Of his coins but four are said to exist; one is in my own collection (No. 7), and was found at Hexham, but it is different from the coin that is engraved in the Arch., vol. xxv. 25 (No. 8), which has a cross in the centre of the obverse, instead of an annulet inclosing a pellet. The others I have never seen, nor do I know where they are; but if the engraving of that in Ruding, pl. E., No. 1, is correct, I should say the coin is one of Ethilred and Æilred, and decidedly not of Ælla. As to the coin mentioned in the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of November, 1843, page 6, and described by Professor Holmboe, of Christiana, it is impossible to form any correct opinion without seeing it; and there is no account given of the place where, or of the company in which it was found. Indeed it is doubtful, from the way in which it is mentioned, whether it is a penny or a sceat. I should be very glad to welcome it as a Northumbrian, if I could. It is thus described.

Obv.—ELA MI NORT (?), with a head in the centre.

Rev.—EDRED ON VSILT, "one greater and two smaller crosses."

I mention this coin with the hope that some day I may be favoured with a drawing or a cast of the coin itself.

Beorn, or Beom, A.D. 868.

This is the person of whom tradition says he was the instigator of the Danish invasion of Northumberland. Matthew of Westminster, Gaimar, and others, relate that the Dane, Ragnar Lodbrog, having been shipwrecked on the coast of East Anglia, was murdered by Beorn, a dependant of Eadmund, King of East Anglia, for which crime he was punished by his master by being sent adrift in an open boat which found its way to Denmark; and Beorn then falsely accused his master of the murder of Ragnar, and invited Ragnar's sons to avenge their father's death. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that the Danes landed in East Anglia in the year 866, and having wintered there, went northwards and took possession of York, A.D. 867.

Asser tells us that Osbercht and Ælla, who before were at enmity, made peace, and (as has been mentioned) with their united forces attacked the invaders at York, where both Osbercht and Ælla were slain. The Danes left Northumberland in 868, having placed Ecbert as their deputy in charge of Bernicia; and it would appear that Beorn was rewarded for his treachery by ruling over Deira. There are four stycas in my possession which I attribute to this Beorn, upon two of which (Nos. 9, 10) he is styled "Beom Rex" (see also Num. Chron., vol. xv., 96,97). The reverses of the other two coins which I have are from the same dies as the reverses of the above two coins. These are the only coins that I have seen of this king.

With King Beorn the copper styca ceased, after it had existed as the only coin in general use by the Northumbrians for about two hundred years. It is extraordinary that with a silver currency all around it, which was being used by neighbours speaking the same language, and having in the main the same laws, and only separated by a boundary ill-defined, the copper coinage should have remained for so long a time limited to this one kingdom, and that, without becoming mixed with the silver currency of its neighbours. This must have been caused, no doubt, by the fact that the very smallness of the value of the copper styca, compared with that of the silver penny, had been found by the Northumbrians practically to be more convenient for ordinary purposes of exchange; and yet, if this was so, it seems strange that the coin with a smaller and more convenient value should not have been adopted by the neighbouring kingdoms, and have been found current together with the silver penny. However, we never find them mixed. The fact speaks much for the jealousies and isolation of this northern kingdom. It was the last of all the Heptarchy that was absorbed into the sole monarchy; and its complete amalgamation was not effected until the reign of Eadred, or even Eadgar, about A.D. 955. The fact that the currency had been kept distinct for so long a period, illustrates the characteristic unwillingness of the Anglo-Saxon race hastily to adopt customs different from those of their fathers. At last, when the change from the copper styca to the silver penny did take place, it was effected in troublous times, and by the hand of strangers who had seized the reins of power for short periods, and who brought with them their own moneyers (probably Frenchmen) to manufacture the new coinage.

ECBERT, A.D. 868—(873 ?).

No coins have been found of this King of Bernicia.

RICSIUS or RICSIDGE, 873—876,

was converted to Christianity, and then he reinstated Archbishop Uulfhere (who had fled after the death of Osbercht and Ælla) into the See of York, and added to it the See of Worcester to repay him for his losses. No coins of this king have been found.

HALFDEN, A.D. 875—(878 ?).

There are two coins which have been attributed by the Rev. D. H. Haigh to this Danish king, a silver penny (No. 11), and half-penny (No. 12); and if his attribution be right, these coins ought to take the lead in the series of silver pennies introduced by the Danish kings of Northumberland. One of these coins (No. 11) is evidently of a more southern origin—having been issued from the London mint—and probably at first was never intended to be current in Northumberland. The half-penny appears to have come from the York mint. Halfden occupied London in A.D. 872, when this penny was probably issued; and it was not until A.D. 875 that he held power in Northumbria. These two coins were amongst the hoard found at Cuerdale, where so many purely Dano-Northumbrian coins appeared; they are therefore inserted in this place.

CNUT (or GUTHRED, or GUTHFRITH), A.D. 883—894,

appears to have been the first of the Danish kings of Northumberland who without doubt issued silver pennies and half-pennies in large numbers *from the York* if not from

other Northumbrian mints. There can be no question, that coins with this name upon them formed the actual currency of the country at this time. But as *the name of Cnut* does not appear in any known historical record as reigning in Northumbria, it is necessary to state my reasons for placing him in this series. I believe Cnut to be identical with Guthred, or Guthfrith, the son of Ivar, who is frequently mentioned in the chronicles of this period, but under the latter names only. The credit of this identification is due to the Rev. D. H. Haigh, from whose work on the coins of the Danish kings of Northumberland I shall venture presently to quote on this subject. I think every numismatist of the present day unhesitatingly accepts as a fact that the Cuerdale Coins with "Cnut Rex, *Rev.* Ebracie," "Cnut Rex, *Rev.* Cunnetti," "Cnut. Rex, *Rev.* Mirabilia," "Cnut Rex, *Rev.* Dns. Deus Rex," and "Cnut Rex, *Rev.* Siefredus," are purely Northumbrian coins, issued for circulation in Northumbria alone (or amongst its Anglian dependants), from the mints, and with the sanction, of the ecclesiastical authorities of York, and probably of Lindisfarne, or its successor Cuneca-ceastre.

Simeon of Durham speaks of "Guthred, the son of *Hardecnut,*" who from a slave was made a king by the Northumbrians. He re-established the Bishopric and the Monastery of Lindisfarne which had been dispersed eight years before, not indeed in their ancient home, but at Cuneca-ceastre (Chester le Street). Adam of Bremen calls him "Gudred," while Ethelwerd calls him "Guthfrid;" and Henry of Huntingdon, "Gudfert." Simeon of Durham, who speaks of him as "the son of *Hardecnut,*" is the only author who seems to connect him with the name of "Cnut." But this curious mistake

(for he was the son of Ivar, and not of Hardecnut) I shall have occasion to notice hereafter. It is clear that Guthfrith occupied the throne of Northumberland soon after the death of Halfden, until the reign of Siefred, *i.e.*, from A.D. 883 to 894. It is also manifest, from the evidence of the coins found at Cuerdale, that a person upon whose coins the name of "Cnut" appears, occupied the throne of Northumberland, and issued coins in great numbers from Northumbrian mints during the period mentioned above. It is also clear that this person was a contemporary and in alliance with King Alfred; and that towards the close of his reign he was associated in authority with Siefred (see Num. Chron., vol. v., pl. 8, No. 104), who immediately succeeded him on the throne of Northumbria. "Then," says Mr. Haigh, "*Cnut can be no other than Guthfrith.* The number of his coins, and the variety of their types, show that he must have reigned for some years; he could not therefore have intervened between Guthfrith and Siefred." "We have a right to expect the money of Guthfrith in the Cuerdale hoard, but we have it not, unless these coins be his. We have many of Siefred, Sievert, or Sigeferth, but many more of a king who was his immediate predecessor, and yet none with the name of Guthfrith, although he reigned for eleven years in peace. The Cnut, whose name these coins bear, evidently occupied Guthfrith's place in history, and he was in alliance with Alfred, as Guthfrith was. Under all these circumstances, I cannot hesitate in avowing my conviction that Cnut is Guthfrith, and I have no difficulty in accounting for the difference of name." Mr. Haigh then refers to the well-known instance of Alfred's godson Guthrum, or Godrum, King of the East Angles, whose name is given in the history

and records of the period as Guthrum, but who in baptism received another name, "Ethelstan," and upon his coins this latter name invariably appears; for not a single specimen exists with the name of "Guthrum." Mr. Haigh then adds, "So I believe that Guthfrith, known only by this name to the chroniclers, may also have taken the name of "Cnut" when he became a Christian, and coined money under this name; and I think that Simeon's statement that he was the son of Hardecnut may have originated either with him, or before his time, in the misapprehension of a scribe translating from dictation some such words as these: 'he suna háte Cnut,' he was forthwith named Cnut." Simeon has made similar mistakes elsewhere, *e.g.*, "Hunbeanna," for Benna or Beonna. In this case Mr. Thorpe suggests the reading to have been, "after him Beanna," &c., and a scribe has carelessly joined the pronoun "him" to "Beanna," making "Himbeanna," "Hunbeanna." This is very ingenious; and as I think it is just possible that the mistake may have arisen thus, I have ventured to endorse the idea.

I agree with Mr. Haigh thus far; but I cannot agree with him in his explanation of the word "*Cunnetti,*" which appeared on the reverses of about 2,000 coins at Cuerdale. I am convinced that the word "Cunnetti" represents a *mint,* and not a person, for it occupies a similar place on the coins of Cnut, that the word "Eboraci" (York) does on so many other coins of this king. With our present information we can only conjecture as to its meaning. But considering the circumstances of Cnut's re-establishment of the once powerful bishopric and monastery of Lindisfarne at Cuneca, or Cuneta-ceastre (Cunkecestra), and that the Cunnetti coins from the cruciform arrangement of their legend have an

ecclesiastical appearance, I am inclined to believe that they must have issued from a mint at this place, and the name "Cunnetti" may be some local form of Cuneta-ceastre. I confess it is a difficulty. The coins with Cunnetti upon them are more numerous than those even from the York mint, and therefore I feel sure they must have come from a place which, being under the special patronage of Cnut Guthfrith, must have had a power little short, if not equal in authority to York. Certainly the mint, wherever it was, must have been situated more northerly, and in a place more important than the "Cuneet" of Domesday, in Shropshire, or than "Cunetio" (Marlborough). Mr. Haigh suggests that it may be a form of the Welsh surname "Cunedda," or of the Irish "Cinneitigh," or of the modern "Kennedy;" but Mons. C. A. Serrure of Paris thinks it may be the same as "Quentovic," the mint which occurs on so many of the French coins found at Cuerdale. I think these last suggestions only need to be mentioned in order to be rejected.

For drawings of the coins of Cnut I must refer the reader to the plates of the Cuerdale coins in vol. v. of the Numismatic Chronicle. These coins invariably have a cruciform arrangement of the letters of his name and title on the obverse. But the reverses may be divided into four classes (see Num. Chron., vol. v. 80 to 85)

1st, those with "Ebraice civitas," and its variations.
2nd, ,, ,, "Cunnetti."
3rd, ,, ,, "Mirabilia fecit."
4th, ,, ,, "Dns Ds Rex."

Some pennies of Cnut have the name of "Siefredus" on the reverse (see below, and Num. Chron., vol. v., pl. 8, 104), and a few have "Alfred Rex" on the reverse (Num. Chron., vol. v., pl. 1—10).

It may be well to notice in this place the monogram of "Carlos," which appears for the first time on some of the pennies and half-pennies of Cnut, both from the York and the Cunnetti mints. This monogram is also found at a later period on some York pennies of Raienalt, or Reginald I., and on coins of St. Peter (or of Sitric?). Without doubt the monogram is that of Carlos, and is evidently a copy of the monogram of Charles the Bald of France, many of whose coins were found at Cuerdale with this device upon them. But how comes this monogram on Dano-Northumbrian coins? The Annals of the Four Masters contain several passages where "*the sword of Carlos*" is mentioned: a sword which appears to have been treasured with superstitious regard by the Danish kings of Dublin. From the same annals we learn that there was intercourse both hostile and friendly between the Northmen under Ragnar, and the men of Paris in the time of Charles the Bald. It is probable that this sword was given by Charles to the chieftain of the Northmen, or it may have been won from him in battle, and became an heir-loom in Ragnar's family, and afterwards have been kept among the treasures of the Danish kings of Northumberland and of Dublin. Hence we find both the monogram of "Carlos," and "the sword," as devices upon the coins of Ragnar's descendants and successors. The monogram is on coins of Cnut, of St. Peter during Sitric's reign, and Reguald; and the sword is found on coins of Sitric and Eric, and on the contemporary coins of St. Peter and St. Martin.

Half-pennies of Cnut were also found at Cuerdale with "Ebraice," and with "Cunnetti" on the reverses (see Num. Chron., vol. v. pl. 9, 113, 114, 121), and with the monogram of "Carlos."

Earl Sitric, A.D. 891—895.

This is the proper place to insert a notice of the rare coins of the Earl Sitric, who was brother of King Cnut (Guthfrith), and son of Ivar, or Inguar. It is recorded in the Annals of Ulster that Siefred, or Sigeferth, was a rival of this Sitric, and that in 892 there was "great dissension among the foreigners;" and the Annals of "The Four Masters" record A.D. 895: "Sitriuc mac Iomair slain by other Norsemen." It is supposed that he was slain by Siefred, who succeeded Cnut, the brother of Earl Sitric, on the throne of Northumbria. During the reign of Cnut it appears that Earl Sitric had considerable power, for two coins with the inscription "*Sitric comes,*" were found at Cuerdale amongst the coins of his brother Cnut. As the probable date of the deposit of the Cuerdale hoard is not later than A.D. 903—4, it is certain that these coins with "Sitric comes" must belong to the brother of King Cnut, the son of Ivar, and not (as I had supposed in a former paper, Num. Chron., vol. viii., N.S.) to the Sitric, son of this Earl, who actually succeeded to the throne of Northumbria *nineteen years afterwards.*[1] The specimen of the Earl's coin which is in the British Museum is drawn among the Cuerdale coins in the Num. Chron., vol. v., pl. 4, No. 56; and the other specimen, in my collection, is herewith engraved (No. 13).

Siefred, or Sigeferth, Sievert, A.D. 894—901.

This name is mentioned by Ethelwerd as being that of a pirate from the land of the Northumbrians, who in 893—4 came with a great fleet and ravaged along the

[1] In the list of hoards of coins, given in the eighth vol. of the Num. Chron., I have erroneously given A.D. 914 as the date of

coast of Devonshire, and afterwards sailed to his own home. This Sigeferth is mentioned in the annals of Ulster as being the rival of a son of Ivar (viz., Sitric, a brother of Cnut-Guthfrith), whom he probably killed the year of Cnut's death; for, from the evidence of coins found at Cuerdale, it is certain that he succeeded Cnut on the throne of Northumberland. Some of Cnut's coins have Siefred's name on the reverse, and other coins have this same reverse "Siefredus," from the same die, used as an obverse, with the title "rex" alone on the reverse (Num. Chron., vol. v., pl. 7, 97, 98). It is evident that these latter coins were issued after the death of Cnut, and when Siefred had succeeded to the sole power.

The types of Siefredus (or "Sievert," as the name sometimes appears) are various (see Num. Chron., vol. v., pl. 8, 99—109). The reverses have "Ebraice civi," with variations: "Mirabilia fecit:" "Dns Ds Rex." None have been found with "Cunnetti" upon them. And if "Cunnetti" means "Cuneca-ceastre," it is probable that after the death of Cnut (who had re-established it, and patronised this bishopric and monastery) its glory declined; and the mint at Cuneca-ceastre was suppressed, and York assumed its ancient supremacy.

Half-pennies of Siefred exist of the types Num. Chron. vol. v., 101, 106, 108.

There are some pennies and half-pennies which were found at Cuerdale, and which are evidently contemporary with the above coins, having a general resemblance to them, but which have a more purely ecclesiastical character. These have not the name of any king upon them, but

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the deposit of the Cuerdale hoard. That date was given from the supposition that these coins of Earl Sitric belonged to Sitric his son.

have the following inscriptions, which have been mentioned as being also on the reverses of Cnut and Siefred:—

Obv.—"Mirabilia fecit."
Rev.—"Eborace civi" (131, 132).

Obv.—"Dns Deus Rex."
Rev.—"Ebraice civi" (110).

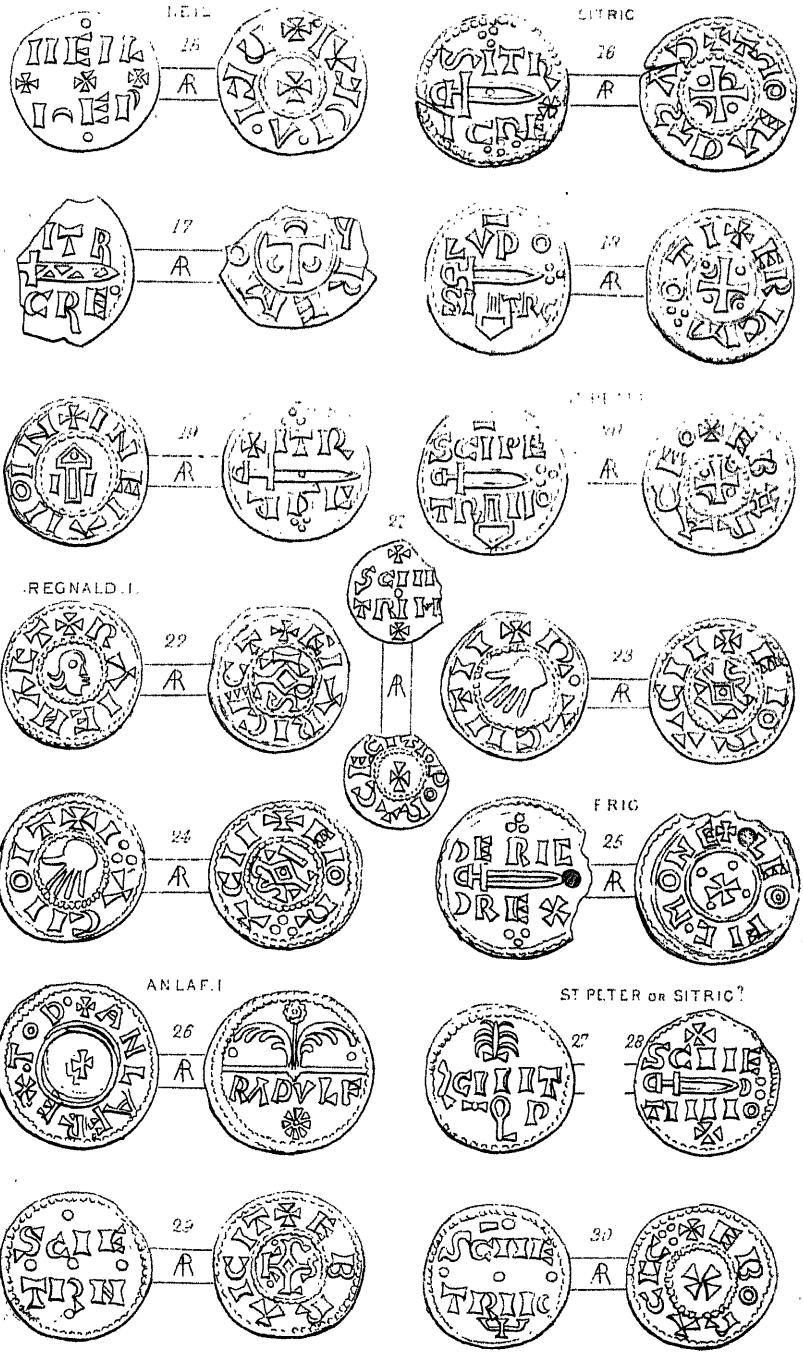
Obv.—"Dns Deus O Rex."
Rev.—"Mirabilia fecit" (133, 134).

All these must have come from the York mints.

ATHELWALD, or ALWALD, A.D. 901—905,

was brother of Edward the Elder, with whom he quarrelled A.D. 901, and then went northwards. After the death of Siefred, he was invited to the vacant throne by the people of York, who seem to have been tired of their Danish rulers. Thus he appears in Northumbria as an Anglo-Saxon stranger, and for nearly three years interrupts the succession of the Dano-Northumbrian kings. Although he issued money with his name, he does not appear to have ventured to call himself "Rex;" although, in the Chronicle of Mailros, it is said that in the year 901 Alwald retired to Northumberland, and there "Rex et Princeps Regum eorum factus est." This expression, "Princeps Regum," and a remark of Henry of Huntingdon that "multi reguli" existed, seem to prove that there were several aspirants to power at this time in the North; but it seems that Alwald held the chief rule amongst them, and was upheld by the ecclesiastics of York, who controlled the mint.

Only two of his coins are known to exist; one was found at Cuerdale, and is now in the British Museum; the other (No. 14) is in my collection. Both appear to have been from the same dies. My specimen was found at York a few years ago, while excavations were being



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made for drainage; and near it was found a mass of copper stycas, which were corroded into such a solid block that the coins were hardly distinguishable, and no account has been preserved of them. This is the only instance that I know of a silver penny having being found in the company of copper stycas. The workmanship of these pennies is much coarser than that of the coins of Cnut or Siefred; and probably was not that of the French moneyers, who had been introduced by the Danes, but of some Saxon, who had accompanied Alwald from the South. The inscription, "Dns Ds Rex," which is also on the coins of his predecessors, seems to connect these pennies with the ecclesiastical mints of York. Alwald was slain in 905, at the same time with Eric, King of the Danes, and was succeeded by

EOWILS, 905—910.

No coins known.

NEIL, A.D. 910—914.

Neil was probably a grandson of Inguar, or Ivar, and a great-grandson of Ragnar Logbrok. It is uncertain whether he was a son of Earl Sitric, or not. It is also uncertain when he commenced his reign, but probably very soon after the death of Alwald. The rare coins which bear evidence to his rule require an introduction into the Dano-Northumbrian series. Only two of them are known (No. 15), which were found at Chester in the year 1862, in company with coins of Sitric, (?) and of Edward the Elder, and of St. Peter, from the York mint. I have not seen these coins, but drawings have been published in the Transactions of the Chester Archæological Society, 1864; and the discovery has been noticed in the Num. Chron. vol. ii. N.S., where the coins

are described as St. Peter's. The fact of their having been found with coins of Edward the Elder and of St. Peter, seems to confirm the attribution to this Northumbrian king, and enables us to place them confidently amongst the Northern series. Sitric, the brother of Neil, married an illegitimate daughter of Edward the Elder. The title "Rex" is absent from these coins, as it was from the coins of his predecessor; and it is difficult to give any meaning to the letters which follow his name; but the similarity of their workmanship and type to the coins called St. Peter's, from the York mint, seem to connect them with the ecclesiastical mints of that city. Neil was murdered by his brother (or by a brother of Sitric), and Sitric at once seized the throne.

SITRIC, A.D. 914—926,

another grandson of Inguar, or Ivar, was born a Pagan, but professed himself a Christian when he succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria. In A.D. 925 he married Orgiva, an illegitimate daughter of Edward the Elder, from whom he was divorced soon after, and then returned to Paganism; and died A.D. 926.

His coins, one of which bears the title "Cununc," the others "Rex," are extremely rare. Only four specimens are known, each of which is unique in its variety. The coin which has the title "Cununc," was probably issued after he had seized the throne of Dublin, while his relative, Neil, was ruling in York. This coin was found, it is believed, in Ireland, and was formerly in the Pembroke collection, but is now in the British Museum. It is unique, but is remarkable as being of the same type, and having the same moneyer ("Ascolu"), as a coin of his son Anlaf II., who did not reign until after three

successors to his throne, in A.D. 943. The three coins which have the title "Rex" were issued, probably, after he had married Edward's daughter, when Neil had been slain, and he had seized the throne of Northumbria. These coins are either the prototypes or copies of the coins which are called St. Peter's, which have *the sword* between the legend. One is in my collection, and was sold at Sotheby's as a coin of St. Peter (No. 16).

The device of the sword, which has been alluded to under the reign of Cnut, as "*the sword of Carlos,*" has been considered, as a matter of course, to represent the well-known symbol of St. Peter. But this sword is found in the same position on coins of St. Martin, and on coins of the kings Sitric and Eric, none of whom have any particular connexion with St. Peter. There is no doubt that this is meant for "*the sword of Carlos,*" and not of St. Peter. This question has been ably and fully discussed by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, who gives some interesting extracts from the Irish annals, where the sword of Carlos is mentioned in connexion with the family of Ragnar. When we consider that this sword appears on coins closely allied by dynasty to those on which the monogram "Carlos" occurs, I think we may take it as conclusive that this device represents "the sword of Carlos," and not of St. Peter.

In this place I may as well explain the device which appears on some of the coins of Sitric, Regnald, St. Peter, and St. Martin, and which has been called, sometimes a "Tau," and sometimes a "hammer." I believe that it represents *the hammer of the god "Thor,"* the chief god of the old Teutonic race. Now this god was said to be the ancestor as well as the patron of the dynasty of the race of Ivar, of whom Sitric was one; and the dynasty of

Ivar is spoken of in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 942, as being "the descendants of Thomair," or Thor. Now the "hammer of Thor," said to be the work of the dwarfs Brokkur and Sindri, was supposed to possess extraordinary virtues. It was incapable of injury; it had qualities similar to the Australian Boomerang, so that it might be thrown to any distance, but would always come back to the hand of the projector; and it could be diminished in size at will, so as to be easily carried in the pouch; but it was used with most effect when grasped with the "iron glove," which the dwarfs also made for Thor. This glove appears as a device on coins of Sitric's successor, Raienalt, as I shall have to point out presently. Small hammers of Thor have been found at different times—one was found at Cuerdale, and is engraved in the Arch. Journ., vol. iv., page 129; and there are a few (which had been worn as amulets) in the National Museum at Copenhagen. The presence, then, of the hammer of Thor, and the sword of Carlos, on the coins of Sitric and his successors, is not to be wondered at. But their presence on coins of St. Peter must be accounted for from these coins having been issued from the Dano-Northumbrian mints of York, during the reigns of "Thor's descendants," Sitric, Regnald, and Eric.

The following are the legends on Sitric's coins:—

1. *Obv.*—+SITRIC· EVNVNE·Λ. The Triquetra.

   Rev.—+·Π·SCOLY HOHETR·Π· The Banner. See Pembr. coins, pl. 4, 81.

2. *Obv.*—·:· SITRIC REX·:· In two lines, a sword between. (No. 16.)

   Rev.—+CΠST DΠEGRT. A cross within the inner circle, in the first and fourth angle of which is a pellet, and a crescent in the second and third angles.

3. *Obv.*—ITR C RE· (The coin is broken.) A sword, with blade ornamented, dividing the legend.
   Rev.—ᛉRE MO. A hammer and three crescents. (No. 17.)
4. *Obv.*—·.·+ITR ᛘ ᛒE ·.· A sword, with a pellet on the blade, dividing the legend.
   Rev.—+INEIᛉI IOIN. A hammer, with a nail (?) on each side.
5. *Obv.*———LVDO SITRC. A sword, with a hammer beneath.
   Rev.—+ERIC M·.·OTI. A cross, having a crescent in two angles, and a pellet in two angles.

During this reign the city of York and the reins of power were for a time seized by a Pagan, named Raienalt or Regnald. I shall hereafter call him Regnald I., to distinguish him from the brother of Anlaf I., who was the son of Guthferth, and who reigned eighteen years later.

REGNALD I. (RAIENALT) A.D. 919 (923 ?).

This Pagan usurper issued a few coins from the York mint, which are remarkable among the Northumbrian series, as being *the only coins* of that group, except the penny of Eanred, which have on the obverse of some a very rude *head;* some of these heads are in profile to the right, and some to the left. One is in the British Museum, and one is in my collection (No. 22); see also Hawk. 136; Rud., App., pl. 30—4; and Sup., pl. E, 2. But there are other coins which belong to this Regnald which have the "*iron glove of Thor,*" instead of the head, which glove has usually been described as an open hand. Each variety of this type is also rare. In the British Museum there is an unique coin with a bow and arrow on the obverse, and the hammer of Thor on the reverse. All the coins of this king are from the York mint; and all of them, except the unique variety with the bow and arrow, have the monogram of "Carlos" on the reverses.

Upon the contemporary coins of Edward the Elder there appears as a type a hand in three varieties of form—one open, as a symbol of friendship; one with two fingers straight, as is usual in the act of blessing; and one having a shield as the symbol of protection. It may be thought that the coins of Regnald I. may have some reference to these. But it is evident that while the hands on all the coins of Edward have *a wrist* attached to them, and all appear to be issuing from a cloud, those on Regnald's coins have *no wrist* at all, but simply represent a five-fingered glove—the iron glove of Thor.

The legends on Regnald's coins are as follows :—

1. *Obv.*—+ RΛIENΛLT. A rude head to the right.
   Rev.—+ EIΛRICECT. Monogram of Carlos (No. 22).
2. *Obv.*—+ RΛHENΛLT. Head to the left.
   Rev.—EΛRICECT. Monogram of Carlos. (Rud., ap. pl. 30—34; Hawk., 136.)
3. *Obv.*—+ RΛHEIIΛLT. Head to the left.
   Rev.—EΛRICECT. Monogram of Carlos. (Rud., Sup. pl. E. 2.)
4. *Obv.*—+ RΛCIIOIT. A glove (No. 24).
   Rev.—+ EIOR·.·ΛCII. Monogram of Carlos. (Rud., Sup. pl. E. 3; Hawk., 135.)
5. *Obv.*—+ RΛCIITII. A glove.
   Rev.—+ EIORΛCII. Monogram of Carlos. (No. 23, Rud., Sup. pl. E. 3; Hawk., 135.)
6. *Obv.*—+ RΛHOCLT. A glove, with a pellet in the centre.
   Rev.—LIOΛCLCΛ. Monogram of Carlos. (Rud., Ap. pl. 30, 31.)
7. *Obv.*—RΛHOCLT. A glove, with a pellet in the centre, and three pellets over it.
   Rev.—LIOΛCLCΛ.
8. *Obv.*—RΛC⌒IIOLT. Glove with four pellets over it, and a crescent to its left.
   Rev.—+ TICIↃΛ⅂×ſ. Monogram.

9. *Obv.*—+ RΛCN·O·I·T. Glove, with a fringe of three loops.
Rev.—+ RΛIOIRCT. Monogram.
Obv.—+ RΛBIOCIT. Bow and arrow.
Rev.—CIIOITΔR·.·Λ. The hammer. (Rud., Ap. pl. 30—32; Hawk., 137.)

GUTHFERTH, A.D. 926—927,

was son of Sitric, whom he succeeded. He reigned for only one year. No coins of his have been discovered, and probably none were ever struck. He was expelled by Æthelstan in A.D. 927, who placed in Northumbria Eric, to rule as his deputy.

ERIC, A.D. 927—941,

was son of Harald. He was probably a Pagan when he was elected as the deputy of Æthelstan. However, he was baptized soon after, and took up his abode at York. He seems to have lived there with kingly power, but in subjection to, and under the protection of, Æthelstan. In A.D. 927 we find Æthelstan defending him against an attempt which was then made by the brother of Guthferth (who afterwards became Anlaf II.) to regain the kingdom for his family. The joint forces of Æthelstan and Eric defeated Anlaf (II.) at Brunnenburgh, and Anlaf then fled to Ireland. Eric continued in power until A.D. 941. The death of Æthelstan in October, 940, and the recent accession of young Eadmund, then only eighteen, suggested an opportunity to the Northumbrians to cast off the Western yoke. Accordingly Eric was expelled, and Anlaf I., the son of Guthferth, was elected king in 941. However, Eric was restored by Eadmund in 944, until 948, the year of Eadmund's death, when he was again banished by the Northumbrians. But he was restored again by the Northumbrians themselves in 952, who at last got tired of him A.D. 954, when they expelled and slew him.

His coins are scarce, although several varieties exist. They may be classed into two kinds: those with the sword of Carlos, and those without. Those with the sword were certainly issued during his first reign, from 927 to 941. (See the coins of Sitric, and St. Peter with the sword.) Those without the sword, but with three crosses between the two lines of the legend, were issued during the first restoration, from 944 to 948. This issue exactly resembles the type of his patron, Eadmund. Probably no fresh issue was made during the second restoration, from 952 to 954.

The varieties of the first issue are as follows:—

Obv.—·.· ᴅ ERIC ᴅ REX ·.· Sword with crescent at point.
Rev.—+ LEOFIC· HONE. Cross with four pellets. J. R.

Obv.—·.· ⊙ ERIC ⊙ REX. ·.· Sword, two pellets at point.
Rev.—+ ÆLY·L·F HO·N. Cross, without pellets. M.B.

Obv.—·.· ERIC· + REX+ ·.· Sword, three pellets at point.
Rev.—+ R·A·DYLF HEOI. Cross, with three pellets. J.R.

Obv.—·.· ·ERIC ·RE ·.· Sword, with two pellets at point.
Rev.—+ INGELGAR HI. Cross, with four pellets.

Obv.—·.· ᴅERIC ᵹREX·· Sword, with two pellets at point.
Rev.—+ ING·IE. LLAFRI Cross, with four pellets.

Obv.—·.· ERIC ·.· REX+ ·.· Sword, three pellets at point.
Rev.—+·INGEL·GAR: GRI. Cross, with four pellets. J.R.

Anlaf I., A.D. 941—943,

the son of Guthferth, was elected by the Northumbrians at the time when they rebelled, and attempted to cast off the yoke of Eadmund. This Anlaf was nephew to Anlaf (II.), the son of Sitric, who in 937 had failed to dethrone Eric, and was the brother of Regnald II. These two (Anlaf II. and Regnald II.) reigned conjointly after the death of the present king.

There has been much confusion with the histories of the three Anlafs whose coins have come down to us, who in the short space of eleven years held rule in Northumbria; and it is not easy to distinguish them clearly. After considerable care I think I may with confidence give the following order of succession as the correct one: and the coins which I have assigned to each will, I believe, be found to be correct, taking partly as my guide the types, the moneyers, the form and size of the letters, as compared with contemporary kings.

Anlaf I. was son of Guthferth, and brother of Regnald II., and reigned from A.D. 941 to A.D. 943.

Anlaf II. was son of Sitric, and brother of Guthferth, and therefore uncle of the last-mentioned king Anlaf I. He reigned from A.D. 943 to A.D. 944, and jointly with his nephew Regnald II.

Anlaf III. (or rather "Onlaf"—"Olaf Cwirran") reigned from A.D. 949 to A.D. 952. It does not appear clearly whose son he was, but he seems to have come to Northumberland from Ireland, where he had received the name "Cwirran," or "The Crooked."

These kings, their pedigree, the order in which they succeeded, and the coins attributed to each, will appear more clearly in the table which is annexed at the end.

The coins of Anlaf I. are very rare. He seems to have used the moneyers whom he found at the mints of the preceding King Eric, whom he supplanted, viz., the moneyers "Radulf," and "Ingelgar" and "Wadter;" and the only type which has survived to our times is that with the flower (Lindsay, pl. 2, 41; Rud., plate 11, 3), similar to the flower type of Edward the Elder (Rud., pl. 6, 8, 9).

Of the few coins which exist, one specimen is in the British Museum (late Devonshire), one is in the Hun-

terian Museum, one is in Mr. Wigan's possession (late Pembroke), and one is in my collection. All show signs of considerable wear from circulation, and the legends are as follows. His title is always given as "Rex:"—

1. *Obv.*—+ ANLAF REX· TO D· A small cross.
   Rev.—RADVLF. Above which is a floral ornament, and a rose below. (M.B. and J.R.) Lind. Hept. pl. 2, 41.
2. *Obv.*—+ ANLAF· REX· EBR. A small cross in the centre.
   Rev.—INGELGAR. Above which is a floral ornament, and a rose below. Pemb. coins, Hept. pl. 1. (Wigan.)
3. *Obv.*—+ AN·L·A·F REX ·A· A small cross.
   Rev.—ADDTER. Above which is a floral ornament, and a rose below. (Hunter.) (Rud., pl. 11, 3.)

Anlaf II., A.D. 943—944,

was the son of Sitric. In consequence of the death of his nephew Anlaf I., he was brought from Ireland, where he had fled in 938 after his defeat at the battle of Brunnenburgh, and was placed in Northumberland by Eadmund, to rule jointly with the late king's brother Regnald II. They had scarcely held the power two years when Eadmund expelled them both in 944, and restored Eric.

Anlaf's coins are much more numerous than those of Regnald II., but both appear to have used for a time the same types, though engraved by different moneyers. (See Rud., pl. 11, 1 and 4; Hawk., 126 and 128.) It would appear that Anlaf brought with him from Ireland at least one of his father's moneyers, "Ascolu," and imitated one of his father's types, viz., that with the Triquetra and standard, which his father had used eighteen or nineteen years before. (See Pemb., Hept., pl. 1.) There can be no doubt that both those Hiberno-Danish types known as the Raven, and the Triquetra type above mentioned, belong to Anlaf II. These coins are generally

found in Ireland, and I have no doubt they had their origin there. I attribute to this king all the coins which have the title "*Cununc.*" This arrangement is borne out by the evidence of types, of workmanship, and letters (which differ materially from the other Anlafs), and by collateral evidence from the moneyers of contemporary kings; and there can be no doubt about the identity of some of these types with those of Regnald II.

It is not easy to say what was the meaning of the Triquetra, nor what was its connection with Northumbria and Ireland. It appears first on the Quadruped types of Eadberht and of Ethelred I. of Northumberland. Then upon the coins of Sitric, Anlaf II., and Regnald II. Again it is found on some coins of the later Irish kings, as well as of the later Danish kings.

The following are the types and legends of Anlaf II.

1. *O.* +ANL⁘A:F CVNVNL. A cross moline, similar to Regnald's coin. *R.* +R · AÐVL · F MONETR. Small cross, and three pellets at one side.
2. *O.* +AHL⁘A·F CVNVNL. A cross moline, similar to Regnald's coin. *R.* +RAÐVLF MONETT. Small cross, without the pellets.
3. *O.* +ANL . AF CYNYHLI. Small cross, an annulet in one angle. *R.* +RAÐ∀LF MONETR. Small cross.
4. *O.* +ANIΠΓ CVNVNL O. Small cross, an annulet in one angle. *R.* +ſIL7RE ſ MOT. Small cross, M in the field.
5. *O.* +A·NL⌓AF CVNVHLIΓ Raven. The next five coins same type. *R.* +·A·ÐEL'FERD MINETRΓ. Small cross.
6. *O.* +A·HLΠ·F CVNVNLIΓ *R.* +·AÐELFERD MINETR.
7. *O.* +A·NL⌓Π·F CVNVNLI. *R.* +AÐELFERD MINETI.
8. *O.* + Π·HL·AF CVNVHL G· *R.* + ———— MINETRI.
9. *O.* ⁘+ ANLΠF CVNVNL⁘ *R.* +A·ÐELFERD MINETRΓ.
10. *O.* + ·A·NL·AF CVNVNL⌐. *R.* + ·A·ÐEL·FERD· MINETR.

11. *O.* +AN·L·ΠF CVHVHE Π. *R.* +ASEOLV MONETRΠ.
Triquetra. The next five coins same type. Banner.

12. *O.* +·AN·L·V·F CVHVNEH. *R.* +F·Π·RH·Π·N MONET·Π.

13. *O.*+·A·NL·Π·F CYNVNE⌒ᚨ. *R.* +F·A·RH·Π·N MONET·A·.

14. *O.* +·ANL·A·F CVNVNE⁝ *R.* +FA·RN·Π·N MONET·Π·

15. *O.* +ANLΠF CVNVHEI. *R.* +F·A·HL·Π·H MONET·Π·.

16. *O.* +·A·NL-A·F CVNVNEZ. *R.* +FARH·ΛN MONETΠ·.

Regnald II., A.D. 943—944,

was the son of Guthferth, and therefore brother of Anlaf I., and nephew of Anlaf II., who reigned jointly with him. Eadmund, who had placed them both on the throne in 943, expelled them both in 944, when he restored Eric.

Regnald II.'s coins are more rare than those of Anlaf II. One is in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, which is of the same type as that in Rev. E. J. Shepherd's collection (late Lindsay, Rud., pl. 11, 1); two are in Mr. Wigan's collection (Rud., pl. 11, 1, and Hawk., 126). There is also a small fragment of Hawk., 126, in the British Museum. The legends are as follows:—

O. +REI(NΠLD) EVNVNE°. *R.* +B·Π(LDRI)C HOTR·A·I.
The Triquetra. The Danish banner.

O. +REIN·AL·D EVNVL. Cross moline. *R.* +·AVR·A· MON·ITRE. Small cross.

Eric (restored), A.D. 944—948.

This king was restored by Eadmund to rule as his deputy. The coins which were issued during this period of his reign, are those which have a small cross in the centre of the obverse, and on the reverse the legend in two lines across the coin, with three small crosses between.

The following interesting additions to the title of the king appear in the legends of this period of his reign, some of which are not easy to explain. Only two of the moneyers who had worked for him before were employed at this time, viz., "Radulf," and "Ingelgar."

1. *O.* +ERIC REX EBoR. Cross with one pellet. *R.* ·:·RADVLF HO .
2. *O.* +E·RIC· RE·X IO· Cross, without pellet. *R.* .·. RADV LF HO ·.·
3. *O.* +ERIC REX N. Ditto. *R.* RAD-VLF HO.
4. *O.* +E·R·I·C R·EX· ᴨ. Ditto. *R.* ·.· INGEL GAR HO ·.·
5. *O.* +ERIC· REX E·N·. Cross, with four pellets. *R.* ·.· INGEL·GAR HO ·.·
6. *O.* +·ERIC· RE+·HO Cross, without pellet. *R.* .·. INGEL GAR H ·.·
7. *O.* ERIC· RE·+ T·O· Ditto. *R.* ··INGEL· GAR HO ·.·
8. *O.* ERIC· R X· E ·.· Cross, with crescent. *R.* .·. NGEL ·GAR· H ·.·
9. *O.* +ERIC REX ᴨL *R.* INGEL GAR.

Eadmund died in 948, and the Northumbrians soon after expelled his deputy Eric, and chose as king

ONLAF (or ANLAF III.) A.D. 949—952,

who had lately come from Ireland to Northumberland. He was known in Ireland as "Olaf Cwirran," or Onlaf "the Crooked," and had apparently at one time been king of Dublin. In 952 the Northumbrians expelled Onlaf, and received back for the third time Eric their former king.

I assign to this king all the coins that have the name and title "Onlaf Rex." The workmanship of these coins is very different from that of the other Anlaf's; the letters are larger, and not so close together. The name is

invariably spelt "Onlaf," and the title is "Rex," not "Cununc." The types may be divided into two sorts—first, those with a small cross in the centre of both obverse and reverse, and having the legend around it; second, those with a similar obverse type, but with the legend on the reverse in two lines across the coin. (Rud., pl. 11, 6, 7; Hawk., 129, 130; and compare Eadmund's coins Rud., pl. 18, 12, 13.) These last coins are extremely rare, the only three specimens that I know are the two coins in the British Museum, which were formerly Tyssen's, and the third, also with the moneyer BACHAIER, is I believe, in Mr. Wigan's collection. Onlaf's moneyers were for the first type "Farmon" and "Ingelgar," and for the second type "Ingelgar" and "Bachaler."

O. +OH·LΛF· R·E O. Small cross.
R. +R(Λ)DVLF MO(N)E· Small cross.

O. +ONLVE. BE+T°₀° Ditto.
R. +FAB·MON MONE. Ditto.

O. +ONIΛF RE+ᴗ Ditto.
R. +FARMON ANE. Ditto.

O. +ONIΛF RE+ᵛ Ditto.
R. +EARMON MONE. Ditto.

O. +ONLAF R·E·+ſ Ditto.
R. +F·Λ·RM·ON·MON·E. Ditto.

O. +OHIAF RE+ ᵍ Cross, three pellets in one angle.
R. +FARMON MONE. Ditto.

O. +ONLAF· REX· O· Cross.
R. +INLEL·E·AR·O· Ditto.

O. +ON·IA·F R·E·X⁝ Ditto.
R. ∴ INLELEAR HO ·∴ In two lines, three crosses between.

O. +ON·LOF REꝺ I ·∴ Ditto.
R. ∴ BΛCh·AIER ·∴ In two lines, three crosses between.

ERIC (restored the second time), A.D. 952—954.

The Northumbrians, however, soon got tired of him, and after two years, expelled him again; when Eadred finally conquered Northumberland, and added it to his own dominions; and it was ever afterwards absorbed into the

sole monarchy of England. From this time the Northumbrian mints ceased to issue a distinct coinage, a privilege which they had enjoyed for at least 284 years—from about A.D. 670 to A.D. 954.

ECCLESIASTICAL COINS OF NORTHUMBRIA.

Any account of the coinage of Northumbria would be incomplete without some notice of the coins which were issued under the authority of the Archbishops of York, and of the ecclesiastical authorities there. At first these coins appeared with the name and title of the archbishop who had the privilege of issuing them, and in conjunction with the name of the king during whose reign they were circulated. But after the reign of Ethilwald they always occur without the name of the reigning king. From the time that the Danes had established their authority in Northumbria, and the copper styca had ceased to be current, the mint at York was kept actively at work, both for regal and archiepiscopal purposes, but it seems to have been in the hands of the ecclesiastics, who were the chief possessors both of learning and art in those times. Most of these men probably had been educated in France, and from thence they introduced the engravers for the coinage of the new money, the silver penny. It is to this ecclesiastical influence that we can trace the religious sentiment in the legends which are on some of the coins of Cnut Guthfrith, Siefred, and Alwald, and as the same legends occur on both the obverses and reverses of those coins which are without the name of either king or archbishop (see p. 75), I presume these coins were issued under the privilege given to the ecclesiastical power, and from

which the archbishop derived perhaps some pecuniary profit.

There can be little question that the coins known as *St. Edmunds* also came from the Danish mints at York, under ecclesiastical direction, and possibly the issue brought some profit to the ecclesiastical power. The coins probably were intended for circulation in those parts of the late East Anglian Kingdom which were under the Dano-Northumbrian rule, and they were therefore inscribed with the name of the saint, at that time so popular in East Anglia, in order to gain for them an easy circulation. Those rare coins which have the name of Alfred in conjunction with St. Edmund, were issued, I believe, by Alfred for circulation in that part of East Anglia which owned his rule; and these coins are inscribed with DORO (Canterbury), to distinguish them from those issued from the York mints, under the authority of the Danes. Coins of both descriptions were found together at Cuerdale; but while those at Cuerdale, from the northern or Danish mints, amounted to thousands, those from Alfred's mints did not exceed five or six. I suppose the coins of St. Edmund were issued about A.D. 890—900, after the death of Ethelstan, the last king of East Anglia, but while Plegmund was still Archbishop of Canterbury, and during the latter part of the life of Uulfhere, Archbishop of York, though long after the copper stycas with his name on them had ceased to be issued. These two archbishops were the last who were permitted to issue coins inscribed with their names and titles, although the privilege of a mint was continued to the archbishops, with some interruptions, until after the Norman Conquest. Although the place of mintage of the coins of St. Edmund is not inscribed on them, yet there can be no doubt about their

Dano-Northumbrian origin. But as regards the coins of St. Peter, they generally have the name of York upon them. I place the date of St. Peter's money from A.D. 910—950 (or 954?), and the date of St. Martin's money about 920—930.

The first archbishops of York did not apparently possess the privilege of coining. Their names are: 1, Paulinus, 625—644 (the see after this remained empty for twenty-two years); 2, Cedda, 666—672; 3, Wilfrid, 672—676; 4, Bosa, 677—687 (during Ecgfrith's reign he was the first archbishop buried in York Cathedral); 5, Johannes, or St. John of Beverley, also during Ecgfrith's reign; 6, Wilfrid II., archbishop for eleven or fifteen years.

7. Ecgberht, 731—766.

He was consecrated in 731, and was brother to the reigning king, Eadberht. He held the see for thirty-six years, and during the reigns of Eadberht and Ethilwald. There are coins of both these kings, with the archbishop's name upon them. During Ecgberht's tenure of the see he procured the restoration of the archiepiscopal pall to the Church of York, which had been withheld from it ever since the death of Paulinus, its first archbishop, by the jealousy of the Archbishops of Canterbury. In the year 750 he regulated the foundation of parish churches.

The coins which bear his name in conjunction with his brother's name, Eadberht, are rare. On the obverse is the king's name, but always without the title ("Rex"), and having a small cross in the centre of the coin. On the reverse is the archbishop's name, placed over a human figure standing (or sitting?), and holding, sometimes a

cross in his right hand and a crozier in his left; and sometimes a cross in each hand, with his head to the right (see Rud., "Kings of Kent," pl. 3., No. 112. Hawk., 102).

Only two coins are known which have the name of this archbishop in conjunction with King Ethilwald (plate, Nos. 1, and 1*a*, and Num. Chron., vol. iii. 145, and Arch., vol. xxvi.). They have the name of Ethilwald on the obverses, with a small cross in the centre, and the name "Egberht A(rep)" on the reverse, with a cross, as on the obverse. No. 1 is in my collection, and was formerly the property of Mr. Dymock; but at the sale of his collection it passed unnoticed, and was sold as a coin of Eadberht. I do not know where the other coin is, but about 1830 it belonged to Mr. Clarkson, of Richmond, in Yorkshire.

8. Ethilberht, 767—780.

No coins of his have been discovered, although he held the see for thirteen years, and during the reigns of Alchred, Ethelred I., and Elfwald. He died at York.

9. Eanbald I., 780—797,

was a disciple of Alcuin, and held the see for seventeen years, during the reigns of Elfwald, Ethelred I. (restoration), and Heardulf. His coins are not uncommon, about one hundred having been found at Hexham, and his moneyers' names are five or six in number. His name appears on the coins sometimes with his title, "Eanbald Arep," and sometimes without, (see Rud., pl. 14, App. pl. 28, and D.d. pl. 2, K and O. Hawk. 153).

10. Eanbald II., 797,

was consecrated 19th Nov., 797. It is uncertain how long he held the see; and if he struck any coins it is impossible now to distinguish them from those of his predecessor, though I think those coins with the moneyer "Eoduulf" have the best claim to belong to this archbishop, from their verp sharp and fresh appearance.

11. Wulsius, 812—831.

Although he held the see for nineteen years, the whole of which was during the reign of Eanred, no coins which can be associated with his name have been found. It has been suggested that the coins of plate, Nos. 4, 5, 6 were issued under the influence of Wulsius, an ecclesiastic; but it could not have been this one, for he died before Ethilred's reign, and was succeeded by

12. Vigmund, 831—854.

He held the see for twenty-three years, during the reigns of Eanred, Ethilred II., Redulf, and part of Osbercht. His coins are numerous, with about nine or ten moneyers. He is styled "Vigmund Arep.," or "Irep.," or sometimes without any title (Rud., pl. 2, L. M. N., and pl. 14). There is a remarkable gold solidus, with the head and title of this archbishop ("Vigmund Arep."), which was formerly in the Pembroke collection, but is now in the British Museum. It resembles the gold solidus of Louis le Debonaire, and has the same reverse legend, "munus divinum." There is no record of the place where it was found. It is at present unique, and weighs $67\frac{9}{10}$ grains (see Pemb., pl. 4, t. 23). The archbishop died 854.

13. Uulfhere, 854—895 (900?).

He held the see for about forty-six years, during the Danish invasions. But when Osbercht and Ælla were slain in 867, the archbishop escaped, and fled to Addyngham, where Burgred, King of Mercia, received him. He was afterwards recalled by the Danish king Ricsig to Northumbria, when, in order to recoup the see of York for the loss from Danish plunder, the see of Worcester was added to it. Uulfhere's coins are not scarce, and as they are all stycas, they must have been struck between 854 and 867, before the archbishop fled to Mercia. He is styled "Uulfhere Arep.," or "Rep.," "Abep.," "Abp." None were found in the Hexham hoard, but a few appeared in the Kirk Oswald discovery in 1818. Although the archbishop held the see for some years after the Danes had established the *silver penny* as the currency of the country, no penny has been found with his name upon it. He died about 900; and was the last of the archbishops of York who was permitted to issue coins inscribed with his own name.

I must now briefly notice the other ecclesiastical coins of Northumbria, which are known as coins of "St. Edmund," "St. Peter," and "St. Martin."

St. Eadmund, 890—900.

I have already said I believe this money to have been coined in the Danish mints at York, and was intended for the use of that part of the East Anglian territory, which was under Danish rule; and they were inscribed with the name of the popular martyr, and sainted king, St. Eadmund, to make them acceptable to the East Anglians,

who had lately been deprived of their power as a separate kingdom. About 2,000 of these coins were found at Cuerdale, nearly all of one type; but the variations in the form of the central A (which is probably intended to represent "Anglia") are many; and annulets, or pellets, are occasionally inserted on both obverse and reverse. The reverses generally contain the moneyers' names, which are numerous; but on two or three varieties the mint, and not a moneyer, appears to be indicated, *e.g.*, "Eriace civ" for York; or "Doro" for Canterbury. The last-named legend appears only on the rare coins with Alfred's name on one side, which have been already alluded to. With these exceptions, no place of mintage appears on the St. Eadmund money. Their average weight is 20 to 23½ grains (Num. Chron., vol. v.)

There were several halfpennies of St. Eadmund found at Cuerdale.

St. Peter, 910—950 (or 954 ?).

These coins are by no means scarce, but are not so numerous as those of St. Edmund; and yet the varieties of type of St. Peter are many and distinct, and bear evidence of their having been coined at different times, and of their having continued in circulation for many years. The similarity of type to the contemporary kings, who held the power at York, suggest the fact that they must have been coined at York from time to time during the different reigns, from Eowils, or Neil, to Eric's second reign; or probably to the time when Northumbria ceased to be an independent kingdom, in 954.

No coins of St. Peter were found at Cuerdale; and it is evident they were not struck till after the latest coins of

that hoard. The only records of which I am aware of hoards of coins where St. Peter's money have appeared in more than one or two specimens, are those of the Harkirk and Chester hoards, and a parcel of thirty coins which the British Museum possesses. The Harkirk hoard is described and drawn in the Harleian MSS., 1437. The coins are also figured in Dingley's History from Marble, pl. cccxvii. (Camden Soc.). See also Spelman's "Vita Ælfredi Magni," Tab. iii. It is stated in the Harleian MSS. that the coins were found in the year 1611 at Harkirk, near Sefton, Lancashire, in a spot which had been given for the purpose of a Roman Catholic burial ground by the family of Blundell. Soon after the discovery the coins were sold by the Blundell family to defray the expenses of the burial-ground wall. The hoard consisted of thirty-four coins altogether, of which eleven were of the earliest type of St. Peter's money (Rud., pl. 12—6, 7, 8, 9, 14). It is mainly from the testimony which this hoard gives that we can without doubt assign the types found in it to the earliest period when this money circulated, viz., from 910 to 920. The Chester hoard has been described in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii., p. 305, and consisted of about seventeen coins altogether, of which about seven were of St. Peter; but many coins were stolen from the hoard, of which no description could be obtained. As to the parcel of St. Peter's money, to the number of thirty, which passed many years ago into the British Museum collection, no record has been preserved, either of the place or time of their discovery, or of the other coins found with them; but they were all of the earliest type, and similar to the Harkirk coins.

To the types with the sword and hammer I give the

second position in point of time, from 920 to 941, as being contemporaries of the kings from Sitric, to Eric's first period of rule, whose coins they much resemble. These have been found in numbers of not more than two or three at a time, both in Ireland and England, but I believe more commonly in Ireland, and once, at least, in company with coins of King Sitric and Regnald I. The coins (plate, Nos. 20 and 28) were found together, I believe, in Derbyshire, and the similarity of type of Nos. 16 and 20 is worthy of notice. One of this type of St. Peter's money was also found with a coin of Anlaf II.

To the coins of St. Peter with the monogram of "Carlos" on the reverse I have assigned the third position in point of time, from 920 to 925, and I place them as contemporaries with Regnald I.; whose coins not only have the monogram on the reverse, but they show a similarity of workmanship which seems to justify this arrangement. These coins are perhaps the rarest of all the series, and had their origin in troublous times.

Besides the above-mentioned three classes of this money there is, I believe, a fourth class, which is not so well defined as the others in point of type, for they much resemble in that respect the earliest, or Harkirk type; but the workmanship is greatly superior, and the name of the saint is ever distinctly legible, and the reverse legend, "Eborace civi," is always free from those blunders which are an invariable characteristic of the earliest type. Besides, while the earlier type averages in weight from 14 to 15 grains, the better executed coins of the latest type average from 20 to 21 grains; the same weight as those with the sword and hammer types.

It appears that halfpennies were coined of the St.

Peter money, but I believe only one is at present known to exist (plate, No. 21), which is apparently of the latest type; but as we have only one specimen, and that has a portion of the edge broken off, it is difficult to say, from the weight, whether it should belong to the latest or to the earliest period. The weight of the coin, as it is, weighs only $4\frac{5}{10}$ grains; therefore, by the weight, it seems probable that it should belong to the earliest period, when the penny often weighed only 15 grains. This unique coin has been lately purchased by the British Museum.

On looking through the list of the earliest period of St. Peter's money, the legends are so systematically blundered, that one is tempted to suspect that the ecclesiastics at York were, at first perhaps, distrustful of their power, and attempted a sort of pious fraud to make their money circulate: for the legends seem to be capable of a double reading, and may represent either the name of King Sitric (Scietric—Scuetruc), or of St. Peter.

I will now proceed to give the legends of each class of type, arranging them according to the periods I have suggested.

1ST TYPE, A, 910—915.

O. SCIE · · · TRIN · In two lines. *R.* + EBORA CITY Small cross.

O. — SCIII · · · TIII · *R.* + EBORA CIT

O. · SCIIE · · · TRIII · *R.* + EBORACE CIV

O. · Ɔ SCIIE · · · TRIII · *R.* + ———— ——

O. · SCIIE · · · TRH · *R.* + ——— I ⁝

O. · SCIIE · · · TRIHP · *R.* + EPRACE CI

O. SCIE · · · TRIC— *R.* · · RACE C

O. SCIII · · · TIII + *R.* + EBOЯACI

O. · SCIC · · · TRII · *R.* EBCRAC

O. · —— · · · TPII *R.* + EBORΛCI

O. · SCIE · · · TЧII · *R.* + EBORΛCE

O. · SCIE · · · TRИ · · ⌓ *R.* + DORΛOI CIVI

O. · SCII · · · TRII *R.* + BRΛ · · ·

O. · SCIE · · · TRII *R.* · BRΛCBC ·

O. · ◁ SCIE · · · TIIP · *R.* + EPΛCE CIO. Weight 14 grs.

O. SCIE · · · TPIP · *R.* + ERΛCE CR

O. SCII · · · TIIP — · *R.* + BRΛCE

O. SCIE · · · TIIP — · *R.* + RΛCE CP

O. SCIII · · · TIIPC *R.* + BRΛCE

O. · (SCIE · · · TRIC

O. · SCIPE · · · TRIII · *R.* + EBORΛCB CIV

O. SCIE · · · TIII · — *R.* + I · IΛ · CFC. Weight $11\frac{9}{10}$ grs.

O. · SCIII · · · TIII · *R.* + II · CECD

O. · SCIII · · · TIIE · *R.* + IR · CECD

O. · SCIE · · · TIIP ⊢ . *R.* + IΛCEBC. Weight 13 grs.

O. SCPE · · · TRMO *R.* + EBORΛCE CI

O. + ƎIIↃS · OIIIIT + *R.* ∝ IqORΛCE CIV

O. SCIIC . TPII *R.* + EBORΛ CI

O. ∪ SCIII · · · TIIIIO ◖ *R.* + EBRΛCEC

O. — SCIPE · · · T⅂IP ◖ *R.* + BORΛCE

O. — SCIIE · · · T⅂INC ⊻ *R.* + ED · O · RΛ CI

O. · SCIL · · · TЯII · *R.* + EBOR CI

O. · SCIE · · · TIII' ⌒ *R.* + · ΛCLICB

O. SCNE · · · ⅂INO *R.* + EBORACE CI

O. SCNE · · · ⅂IINO *R.* + EBORACIIE

O. SCIPE—+—TRIMO ⁘ *R.* + EBORACE CIV

O. SCIPE · + · TRIMO + *R.* + EBORACE CIV

O. SCIPE + · + TRIMO *R.* + EBORACE CIVI

O. SCIE + · + TIII · *R.* + PΛCE CB

O. — SCIE + · + TIII . *R.* + PΛC · B

1ST TYPE, B, 910—915.

O. ꝏCIIE · · · TRIIIO. In two lines, a floral ornament (?) above and below. *R.* + EBORACE CIV. Small cross.

O. SCI PE · · · TRI MO. Ditto, floral ornament (?) below. *R.* + EBORACE CIV. Ditto.

O. · SCI PE · · · TRI HO. Ditto ditto. *R.* + EBORACE C·: Ditto.

O. · SCI PE · · · TRI M. Ditto ditto. *R.* + EBORACE CI. Ditto.

O. ⊰ CIIIT ⊳o◁ A key. I. Floral ornament before the legend. *R.* + BORꓤCEC. Ditto. Weight 18¼ grs. (See Pl., No. 27).

O. SCI PE + TRI MO. A key above the legend.

O. SCI PE · / · TRI MO + A key above the legend. *R.* + EBORACE CIT. Ditto.

O. + SCIIE TRI MO + A key, ditto. *R.* + EB◇RACE CIV. A cross with a wedge in each angle.

2ND TYPE, A. 920-941. *Obv.*—"Sword." *Rev.*—"Hammer."

O. ✠ SCIIETIIIIO ✠ A sword with a hook at its point, to the left, between the two lines of the legend. *R.* ✠ LBIOEVITR. A hammer, within the inner circle.

O. ✠ SCIITIIIO ✠ Ditto. *R.* ✠ IOIYIЯ·· ∃. Hammer, but with a thicker handle, and heavier head.

O. ✠ SCIITIIIO ✠ Ditto. *R.* ✠ IOIYIЯY∃. Ditto.

2ND TYPE, B. *Obv.*—"Sword." *Rev.*—"Hammer."

O. ∃IIIS ∃IICT ·· A sword to the left. *R.* + IOEARCEI. A hammer with thick handle.

O. ✠ · SCIIE TIIIIO · ✠ · A sword to the right, with a crescent and two pellets at its point. *R.* + IOREVRIIT. A hammer with slight handle and head. Weight 18$\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

O. ✠ ———— ✠ Ditto. *R.* ✠ IOBEVR · IT. Ditto.

O. ✠ ———— ✠ Ditto. *R.* ✠ IOBEVR · IT. Ditto.

O. ⁘ ——————— ⁘ Sword, with a cross at its point, and three pellets at its handle.

O. ⁘ ——————— Ditto.

O. · ——————— ⁖

O. SCIIETDIIIO

O. ₀°₀ SCIIE TPIIIO. Sword with cross at its point.

O. ·+· ⊥IIIIO ƧCIIE. Sword with crescent at point.

R. ✠ ·:·TЯTƎЯOI. Hammer with thick handle and head.

R. ✠ ERIVIITOI. Ditto, with a pellet in the hammer head, and a nail (?) on on each side of handle.

R. ✠ ERIVITII. Ditto.

R. ✠ ERIѰIITM. Ditto, with three pellets on each side of the handle.

R. ✠ ERRѰIITИ. Ditto. Weight 18$\frac{2}{10}$ grs.

R. ✠ :IVIVEVᗡ. Hammer with thin handle, but heavy head.

2ND TYPE, C. *Obv.*—Sword and hammer. *Rev.*—Cross, with pellets.

O. ✠ — SCI PETR⌷IIO. A sword to the right, between the legend, with a cross at its point.

O. · ✠ — SCI PETR⌷IIO. Ditto.

O. —— —————— Ditto.

O. · ✠ · —— —————— Ditto, three pellets at point.

O. SI ⊥ETR⌷IIO. Ditto, cross at point.

O. — —————— Ditto.

O. ₀ SCI PETR⌷IIO. Ditto, three pellets at point.

R. ✠ EB◇R°Λ°CEII. A cross, with a pellet in each angle.

R. ✠ EB◇R·Λ·CEI. Ditto.

R. ✠ · —————— Ditto.

R. ✠ —————— —— ·:· Ditto.

R. ✠ R◇R°Λ°CED. Ditto.

R. ✠ RDR°Λ°CEI. Ditto, with a pellet in three angles.

R. ✠ EB◇RΛ CEO. A cross, with a pellet in two angles, and a crescent in the other two angles.

3RD TYPE, with monogram. A.D. 920—925.

O. S̄C̄I PE · · · TR ⊢P· In two lines. *R.* + EΛRCECT. Monogram of Carlos.

O. · SCI E · TR N · *R.* + ERΛRICECT. Ditto.

O. · SCI E · · · TR N · *R.* + EBRΛICIT. Ditto. Weight 19$\frac{2}{5}$ grs.

O. · SCI E · · · T (RN) *R.* + LΛ (RICE) LT. Ditto.

4TH TYPE. A.D. 940—954.

O. + S̄C̄I PE · · · TRI MO + In two lines. *R.* + EBORΛCE CIV. Small cross in centre. Weight 20$\frac{4}{5}$ grs.

O. o S̄C̄I PE · · · TRI II ꝏ *R.* + EBORΛCE CI. Ditto.

O. o SCI PE · · · TRI MO o *R.* + EBORΛCE C. Ditto.

O. o S̄C̄I PE TRI MO *R.* + EBORΛCE C·:

O. o SCI PE · · · TRI NO. A floral ornament. *R.* + EBORΛCE CI. Ditto.

O. o S̄C̄I PE + · + TRI MO o *R.* + EBORΛCE CIVI

O. o S̄C̄I PE + · + TRI MO o *R.* + ———— —— Weight 20 grs.

O. o S̄C̄I PE ↄ o C TRI M̄Ō o *R.* + ———— CIV

ST. MARTIN, 920—930.

Besides the coins of St. Edmund and St. Peter, from the York mints, there are from the mint at Lincoln three coins (and I believe only three exist) which have the name "St. Martin" upon them. The obverse legend is in two lines, with the sword of Carlos between them, and the hammer of Thor below them. The reverse has the name of the mint, "Lincoia civit," with a cross of a peculiar form in the centre (Rud., pl. 12; Hawk., 138; Pemb., pl. 2, 4). These coins were struck while Lincoln was in the hands of the Danes, and they were issued under their authority, about A.D. 920—930; during the time of

Regnald I., Guthferth, or Eric's first rule. A cross similar in form to that on these coins appears over the door of the church at Kirkdale, in Yorkshire; a church which, according to a contemporary Dane, was rebuilt under the direction of another Dane, named Orm Gamalsuna. This form of cross is also found on Runic monuments of Scandinavia. I think, therefore, there can be no doubt of the Danish origin of these rare coins of St. Martin.

The legends on the three known specimens are the following:—

1. *O.* ·:·SCI MARTI. Sword and hammer. *R.* +LINCOI·A· CIVIT. Mus. Brit., weight 18 gr.
2. *O.* SCI MARTI. Sword and hammer. *R.* +LINCOLIA CIVT. Wigan, weight $19\frac{9}{01}$ gr.
3. *O.* SCI MARTI. Sword and hammer. *R.* +IHCOIA CIVT. J. Rashleigh.

No. 2 was formerly in the Pembroke collection, and No. 3 has been successively in the Hollis, Dimsdale, Rich, and Cuff collections.

Annexed is a Table showing the succession of the Danish kings of Northumbria.

JONATHAN RASHLEIGH.

3, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park.
April, 1869.

THE DANISH KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA.

A Genealogical List, in which mention is made of the Coins attributed to each.

RAGNAR LODBROG,
Came to Northumbria, 866. Murdered by Beorn, herdman of Eadmund of East Anglia

(1)

HALFDENE, 873—876. Occupied London 872. Led at the battles of Reading and Merton, 870. (2 coins found at Cuerdale.)

INGWAR, or IVAR, ob. 873. Murdered Eadmund (St.), king of the East Angles, 869. The ancestor of the Danish kings of Dublin.

UBBA, ob. 878. Murdered the monks of Peterborough 869. Killed at the battle of Cunanth.

(2)

CNUT, or GUTHFRITH, 883—894. Had been captured and sold as a slave. Founded the monastery at Cuneca-ceastre. (Many hundred coins found at Cuerdale. 1 coin found at Harkirk.)

(2a)

EARL SITRIC, 891—895. Killed by Siefred, 895. (2 coins found at Cuerdale.) "Sitric comes."

(3)

SIEFRED, or SIEVERT, 895—901. A chieftain under Cnut, 893—4, but afterwards ruled jointly with Cnut, 895, and slew his rival, Earl Sitric, Cnut's brother. (Many coins found at Cuerdale.)

(4)

ALWALD, or ATHELWALD, 901—905. Nephew to Alfred the Great. He disputed the authority of Edward I., and fled to York. Was elected King of Northumbria. (1 coin found at Cuerdale, and 1 at York.)

(5)

(6)

Archbishops of Canterbury.	*East Anglia.*	*Sole Monarchs.*	*Archbishops of York.*
CEOLNOTH 830 / 870	EADMUND 855 / 870		ULFHERE, 854—867.
			Recalled by Ricsig, about 870.
ETHERED 871 / 890. 3 coins found at Cuerdale.	ETHELSTAN 870 / 890. Coins found at Cuerdale. This is the last king of East Anglia.	ALFRED, 872—901. Coins found at Cuerdale and at Harkirk, similar to those of Cnut, Earl Sitric, and Siefred.	Died 895 or 900 ?
PLEGMUND 891 / 923. Coins at Cuerdale and Harkirk. This is the last Archbishop who coined with his own name and title.			
	ST. EADMUND money. 890—900. (2,000 coins found at Cuerdale). 4 coins found at Harkirk.		ECCLESIASTICAL coins, of York, 890—900. "Dns: Ds. Rex"; "Mirabilia," in connexion with "Ebraice" (found at Cuerdale).
		EDWARD I. 901—925. Coins found at Cuerdale and at Harkirk. Coins with type of Anlaf I.	

EOWILS, or EYUUYSL
905—910.
Slain, 910. (No coins have been found.)

NEIL. 910—914.
Slain by Sitric, or by his brother, 914. (2 coins found at Chester.)

SITRIC. 914—926.
Married illegitimate daughter of Edward Elder. (3 coins with "Sitric Rex;" 1 coin with "Cununc.")

ANLAF.
Perhaps the murderer of Neil.

(7)
REGNALD I. 919, to (923?)
A Pagan, who seized York, 919. (Coins with a head, and with a glove.)

GUTHFERTH. 926—927.
Son of Sitric. Expelled by Ethelstan, who made Eric his deputy in Northumbria. (No coins known.)

(10)
ANLAF II. 943—944.
Reigned jointly with his nephew, Regnald II. Expelled by Eadmund, 944. (Coins with Raven, Banner, Triquetra. All these coins have "Cununc.")

(8)
ERIC. 927—941.
Son of Harald. Baptized at York. Retired in 941. (Coins with sword type.)

(9)
ANLAF I. 941—943.
Son of Guthferth. (Coins with the flower type, like coins of Edward I. The title is always "Anlaf Rex.")

(11)
REGNALD II. 943—944.
Son of Guthferth, and reigned with his uncle, Anlaf II. Expelled by Eadmund, 944. (Coins with same type as Anlaf II., with Triquetra and Banner.)

(12)
ERIC (restored). 944—948.
Banished after the death of his patron, Eadmund. (Coins with the reverse legend in *two lines.*)

(13)
ONLAF, or ANLAF III. 949—952.
Came from Ireland, where he was named "Cwirran." (Coins with the type similar to Eric and Eadmund, in *two lines*. He is always styled "Onlaf Rex.")

ERIC (restored a second time). 952—954.
Expelled by the Northumbrians, and slain 954. (No coins distinguishable.) He was the last king of Northumbria.

ETHELSTAN, 925—941.	ST. PETER'S money.
Coins similar to Anlaf II. "Sicares moneyer;" and with "Eborac."	*1st type*, 910—920? in two lines, and small cross. Found at Harkirk. The name often resembling "Sitric," "Sietr, m."
	2nd type, 920—941? Sword and hammer type of Sitric. Three varieties. Sometimes found in Ireland.
EADMUND, 941—946.	(ST. MARTIN, 920—930.)
Coins with "Rex Ebor," and similar to Onlaf III.	*3rd type*, 920—925. With monogram similar to Regnald I.
EADRED, 946—955.	*4th type*, 940—950 (or 954).
Coins with "Sicares," and "Ingelgar," moneyers of Anlaf II. and Eric.	In two lines. Name distinct.

VII.

ON ENGLISH AND FOREIGN WATERLOO MEDALS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 17, 1868.]

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society a short account of the medals given to the troops of Foreign nations, who fought, side by side, with the English at Waterloo, from notes communicated to me by my friend, Captain Tupper, an energetic member of the Council of the Naval and Military Museum in Scotland Yard.

These notes, with some illustrations not altogether relevant to our subject, as not being strictly numismatic, appeared some time since in a publication edited by my friend, Mr. Frank Buckland. I have, however, thought them worth reading to you in their present modified form, as I do not think the whole of the medals given for Waterloo have ever been published together in any one numismatical record. I should add, that since Captain Tupper first drew up the notes from which I have taken what I thought would be most interesting to the Society, the map of Europe has been strangely altered. The Kingdom of Hanover has ceased to exist, and is, for all practical purposes, a fief of Prussia; and the Grand Duchy

of Nassau, like it, has been swallowed up by and annexed to Prussia. In concluding these few words of introduction, I should like to state that Captain Tupper has placed at the disposal of the Society the five wood-blocks which illustrated his first notes, the name of Mr. J. H. Rimbault being a sufficient guarantee for their accuracy as works of art.

The medals are as follows:—

1. Medal struck for English troops, including King's German Legion.
2. Hanoverian Waterloo Medal.
3. Nassau Waterloo Medal.
4. Brunswick Waterloo Medal.
5. Prussian Waterloo Medal.





1. To take first THE ENGLISH WATERLOO MEDAL. This, as one of the best known medals of England, it is hardly necessary to describe in detail. It is enough to say that, on the obverse is a Bust of the Prince Regent, with the words GEORGE P. REGENT., and under the neck, in small letters, "T. WYON : JUN: S.;" and, on the reverse, a seated, draped figure of Victory, with her wings displayed, and at her feet, in large letters, "WATERLOO. JUNE 18, 1815." In small letters to the right, we may notice the artist's name, T. WYON. S. The type is a

copy of a very beautiful Greek coin of Terina, in Lucania. The art, however, we are afraid we must admit, is very inferior to that of its ancient original, Æ. S. 10.

This medal was given to all those who fought at Quatre-bras on the 16th of June, and at Waterloo on the 18th of June, and also to the following regiments, or portions of regiments, under Sir Charles Colville, who were stationed at Halle, ten miles from the field of battle:—to wit, 35th Foot, 2nd Battalion; 54th Foot, 1st Battalion; 59th Foot, 2nd Battalion; 91st Foot, 1st Battalion. These corps were not, however, allowed to assume the word "WATERLOO" on their colours, as appears by a War-Office Order, dated December 23, 1815.

Upwards of 37,000 of these medals were struck at the Royal Mint; and on the rim is engraved the name of the soldier (with his regiment and rank) to whom the individual medal was given. The ribbon is crimson, with blue edges.

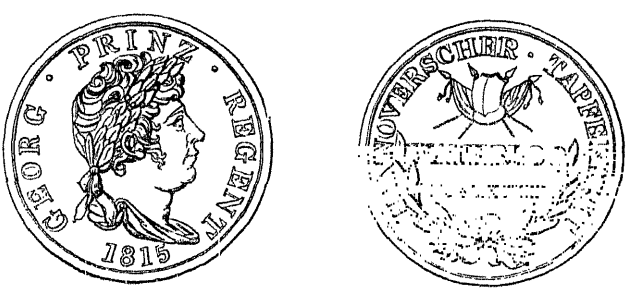
It appears from a Despatch of the Duke of Wellington to the Duke of York, then Commander-in-chief, dated Orville, June 28, 1815,—and also from a letter addressed by the Duke to Earl Bathurst, dated Sept. 17, 1815,—that the Duke himself was the first to suggest the propriety of having a medal struck specially for Waterloo. In the first of these documents the Duke says, "I beg to suggest to your Royal Highness the expediency of giving to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers engaged in the battle of Waterloo a medal;" and in the second, he "recommends that we should all have the same medal, hung to the same riband as that now used with the medals." The result was an order from the Prince Regent, dated March 10, 1816, that "a medal shall be conferred upon every officer, non-commissioned officer,

and soldier of the British army present on that memorable occasion," with the additional proviso, "that the riband issued with the medal shall never be worn but with the medal suspended to it."

The time has long since past for us to notice here the discussions, not to say dissensions, that arose on the subject of the issuing of this medal. It is enough to say, that the granting of it was anything but popular in the army, the veterans of the Peninsula feeling aggrieved that those who were present at Waterloo—many of them raw recruits, who had never seen a shot fired before—should receive such a public acknowledgment of their achievements; while they, who had undergone the labours and privations of the whole war, had had no recognition of their services beyond the *thirteen* votes of thanks awarded to them in Parliament. There was no doubt some truth in what was averred by and on the part of the old soldiers; at the same time it must be remembered, that English military pride had hitherto rebelled against the practice common in Continental armies, of conferring medals and distinctions on every man, or every regiment, who had simply done their duty in their respective services.

We are far from saying that no medal ought to have been given for the five years of the Peninsular campaign; but we may, at the same time, be allowed to deprecate the profuse donation of such memorials—a fashion which, we think, has been too common since the Chinese War of 1842. On the contrary, we rejoice that, in 1848, thirty-three years after the close of the great European War, and when one-third, at least, of the proper recipients of them had, in the usual course of nature, passed away, the nation awoke to the too-long-

forgotten duty of rewarding by one general medal the surviving members of that famous force, who had successfully withstood the whole of Bonaparte's strength in Spain, and who had not one single defeat to record among their many triumphs. It is remarkable, and worthy of remembrance, that all parts of the service, on this occasion, made common cause, and that the Waterloo men themselves, out of deference to and feeling for their Peninsular brethren, refused to wear the medal so justly their due, until ordered to do so officially; and that, in after years, it was very generally laid aside, till the award of the medal of 1848, when both were worn, side by side, by the remaining greybeards, who had fought together, side by side, in the same field of victory, more than a quarter of a century before.



No. 2. The Hanoverian Waterloo Medal.

This medal, like the English one, has a profile and laureate head of the Prince Regent to the right, with the legend GEORG. PRINZ. REGENT, 1815, round it.

On the reverse are two branches of laurel and a breastplate, with two spears and two colours crossed on either side; underneath is the date, WATERLOO JUN. XVIII., and, above, in Roman letters, HANNOVER-

SCHER TAPFERKEIT. Round the rim are the soldier's name, regiment, &c.

This medal was founded by the Prince Regent in December, 1817, and was awarded to every soldier who was present in the Hanoverian army at the battle of Waterloo. It is suspended by a crimson ribbon with light blue borders, and the owner was permitted to wear this ribbon without the medal, contrary to the rule which prevailed in England.

Unlike also the custom of this country, the medal remained the property of the soldier, and if he left the military service, he was still allowed to wear it. It could not, however, under any circumstances, be transferred from one soldier to another, but after the death of the first recipient of it, it was ordered that it should remain in his family as an heirloom. The Hanoverian troops present on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June at Quatre-bras and Waterloo, under the command of General Charles Von Alten, consisted of nearly 25,000 men, of whom about 2,000 were put *hors de combat*.



No. 3. The Nassau Waterloo Medal bears on its obverse a profile portrait of Frederick Augustus to the right, with the legend FRIEDRICH AUGUST HERZOG ZU NASSAU; in the exergue are I. L., the initials (probably) of the engraver's name.

On the reverse, a draped, winged, erect figure of Victory, to the right, carrying a palm branch in the right hand, the left arm extended, holding a laurel wreath over the head of a Roman soldier in complete armour, a sword, point uppermost, in his right hand, the left arm being extended. Round this design, in Roman letters, DEN NASSAUISCHEN STREITERN BEY WATERLOO; and, in the exergue, DEN 18 JUNI, 1815. The ribbon worn with this medal is dark blue, watered, with orange-coloured borders.

We may remark that the absurdity of representing modern soldiers in the garb of Roman warriors has been continued even to the present day;—the Crimean Medal exhibiting on its reverse a Roman soldier duly accoutred, with a sword in his right hand, and prepared to take the place of the red-coat or blue-jacket, as the case might be, the same decoration having been awarded both to army and navy. Surely it would be a better plan to allow each medal to tell its own story, as was in fact the case with the large majority of ancient coins; indeed, in all probability would be found to be in all cases, could we satisfactorily interpret the latent meaning of every specimen. The whole of the Nassau troops present on the 18th of June amounted to 6,180 infantry. Of these nearly 3,000 were under fire, chiefly in the wood at Hougomont, and lost 643 men, being more than one-fifth of their number; the remainder were in reserve. By a general order, issued by the Grand Duke himself on the 23rd of December, 1815, the medal was to be presented to all officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, as an honourable badge in remembrance of this most propitious day for the arms of Nassau. It was to be given to all who fought in this battle, or who were present on detached service, or absent from the field without such

absence being their fault. The medal was worn on a ribbon of dark blue silk bordered with orange.



4. The Brunswick Waterloo Medal

exhibits, on the obverse, a profile portrait of Frederick William, Duke of Brunswick, to the left, with a star on the left breast. The engraver's name, *C. Kaseler*, appears on each arm. The legend is FRIEDRICH WILHELM HERZOG.

On the reverse is a branch of laurel, with berries, and a branch of oak leaves forming a wreath, in the centre of which is 1815. Round the outside of the upper portion are the words BRAUNSCHWEIG SEINEN KRIEGERN, and underneath, QUATRE-BRAS UND WATERLOO.

This medal was founded by the Prince Regent in the mouth of June, 1818. The decree issued for the purpose states "that we have, in perpetual memory of the campaign of 1815, and of the glorious conduct in which the corps of the ducal troops have taken part, ordered to be made of metal from the enemies' captured guns, a medal, with the effigy of Duke Frederick William, gloriously killed on the field of honour, to be struck and distributed to every person of the corps, and to be worn by those who participated in combats against the enemy."

The medal was the same for all ranks; and was worn

on the left breast, suspended by a yellow ribbon with blue stripes. No one was allowed to wear the ribbon without the medal. The Christian and surname of the possessor, and his rank, especially on the 16th and 18th of June, were to be engraven on the rim. The Brunswick medal appears to have been given more freely than was the case with the other medals of the same class. Thus it was given to all who actually served between June 15 and July 7, the day of the entrance of the allies into Paris. It was also given to the military chaplains, and was presented, *without the ribbon*, to the heirs of those soldiers who fell on the fields of Quatre-bras and Waterloo, or died subsequently.

The number of Brunswickers present on the 16th and 18th was in all 6,808. Of these 760, or one-ninth, were put *hors de combat*.

It is remarkable that of this body, in June, 1865, no less than 1,100 were still alive to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, on which occasion they were entertained at Brunswick by their fellow citizens. All or most of these men had been in their youth "*Black Brunswickers*"—the "*death and glory men*," so called from wearing the skull and cross-bones on their shakoes. They never gave or took quarter, on account of their Duke having been killed at Jena, Oct. 16, 1806, nine years before his son, Duke Frederick William, who "rushed into the field and foremost fighting fell" on June 16, 1815, and whose untimely fate they bitterly avenged.

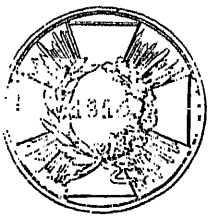
5. The Prussian Waterloo Medal

has on its obverse an Imperial Crown, with the letters F. W., and underneath, in German character, PREUS-

SENS TAPFERN KRIEGERN; in the circumference, GOTT WAR MIT UNS, IHM SEY DIE EHRE!

On the reverse is a Maltese Cross, with rays between the four arms. In the centre, the date, 1815, surrounded by a tied wreath of laurel and oak. On the rim is, "*Aus feindlichem geschütze.*" The colour of the ribbon is an orange centre, with black and white stripes on either side.





All the Prussian war medals for the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, are of the same type, and on the same principle.

The effective force of the Prussians was nearly 52,000 men. As is well known, they did not reach the battle-field till 7 P.M.; but, though they did not come in time for much hard fighting, their coming was most welcome to the army, and to its illustrious commander. The Duke, in his famous despatch from Waterloo, dated June 19, 1815, says, "I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blücher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operation of General Bulow on the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them if they should unfortunately have succeeded." W. S. W. VAUX.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *Revue Numismatique*, Nos. 1—2, 1868, are the following articles :—

1. Letters from M. de Saulcy to M. Adr. de Longpérier on Gaulish Numismatics. XXVIII. Coins of the Eduans, &c.
2. "Greek coins mentioned in ancient authors and inscriptions," by M. F. Lenormant (third article).
3. "Observations on the date of a tetradrachm of Phraataces, King of Parthia," by M. A. de Longpérier.
4. "Coins of the Kings of Ethiopia (nagast of Aksum, in Abyssinia)," by M. A. de Longpérier.
5. "Observations on Ethiopian coins," by M. Antoine d'Abbadie.
6. "On the Portraits of Octavia, sister of Augustus," by M. F. Bompois.

Letter of M. Beulé, and of the editors of the *Revue*.

7. "Yolande, Countess of Anjou and Provence, Queen Regent of Naples," by M. A. de Longpérier.
8. "Jeton struck at Châlons-sur-Marne in 1491," by M. A. de Barthélemy.

In the *Bulletin Bibliographique* are notices of the following works and papers :—

1. "On some gold and silver coins of the Merovingian epoch, bearing the name of the town of Troyes," by M. Julien Gréau.
2. "Essay on the coins of Senlis." A posthumous work of Dr. Voillemier.
3. "Historical notice of the coins struck by the Grand-Masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem," by M. Laugier.
4. "On foreign coins current in France, counterfeit French coins, and false coinage, from the eleventh to eighteenth centuries," by M. P. Mantellier.

In the *Chronique* are the following notices :—

1. M. le Comte de Vogüé elected member of the Academy of Inscriptions.
2. "Notice of two Celtic coins bearing inscriptions," by M. Friedlaender.
3. "On a bronze coin of Hadrian, struck at Corinth," by M. A. de Longpérier.
4. "Denier of Blois of the tenth century," by M. E. Hucher.
5. "Bronze weights," by M. E. Barry.

6. "Coin of Charles I. of Anjou as Senator of Rome," by M. Caucich.

The part concludes with notices of sales, and with a letter on a Medal of Charles VII., by M. Chabouillet.

In the third number of the *Revue* are the following articles:—

1. "Coins of the Kings of Nabathæa," by M. de Vogüé.
2. "Coins of the Himyerite Dynasty, struck at Raidan" (Southern Arabia), by M. de Longpérier.
3. "Silver and Gold Plated Coins of the time of the Roman Republic and Empire," by M. de Witte.
4. "Coins of Charles the Bald, and of Pépin, King of Aquitaine," by M. de Longpérier.
5. "On the explanation of a *blanc*, with an unusual legend, published in 1867 by M. Deschamps de Pas," by M. Chabouillet.
6. "Coins of the diocese of Coire, from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Centuries," by M. Trachsel.

In the *Chronique* are notices of several numismatic papers, and of a find of coins, of the Thirteenth Century, near Aubusson.

In the fourth number of the *Revue* are the following articles:—

1. "Greek coins mentioned in ancient authors and inscriptions," 3rd art., by M. F. Lenormant.
2. "Numismatic miscellanies. IV. Inedited contorniate medallions," by M. Robert.
3. "Examination of apocryphal documents relating to coins. Coins of Mans," by M. Barthélemy.
4. "Coins of Charles VI. and VII. of France, struck at Gênes," by M. de Longpérier.
5. "Numismatic history of Alphonse Count of Poitiers and Toulouse," by M. Boutaric.

In the *Chronique* are notices of various numismatic works and papers.

In the fifth number of the *Revue* are the following articles:—

1. "The Tarsus Treasure," by M. de Longpérier.

The most remarkable pieces in this find are three magnificent gold medallions, of unusual size and beauty of workmanship.

No. 1, 2½ inches in diameter, has on the obverse a head of young Hercules to right, wearing the lion's skin; and on the reverse, Alexander the Great on horseback to right, in the act of

hurling a javelin at a lion which crouches below the horse. The legend is BACIΛЄYC ΑΛЄΞΑΝΔΡΟC.

No. 2, 2·6 inches in diameter, has on the obverse a bearded and diademed bust to left, which M. Longpérier supposes is meant to represent Philip II. of Macedon; and on the reverse a victory in a quadriga to right, and the legend BACIΛЄ ϢC ΑΛЄΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

No. 3, which is 2·75 inches in diameter, has on the obverse a diademed head of Alexander the Great to right, and the same reverse-type and legend as No. 1.

M. Longpérier, from their style and workmanship, assigns these pieces to the beginning of the third century.

We believe that the Bibliothèque Impériale has purchased these fine medallions of Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent.

Four plates of this No. of the *Revue* are devoted to the "Tarsus Treasure."

2. "Note on a legend on coins of Constantine the Great," by M. de Witte.

3. "Deniers of Charlemagne found near Sarzana," by M. de Longpérier.

4. "Examination of apocryphal documents relating to coins. Coins of Souvigny," by M. de Barthélemy.

5. "Numismatic history of Alphonse Count of Poitiers and Toulouse," by M. Boutaric.

In the *Bulletin* is a *catalogue raisonné* of the coins of the Counts of Artois of the collection of M. Dewismes.

In the *Chronique* are various numismatic notes.

The Part concludes with a short notice of the life of M. d'Affry, of the Mint.

In the *première livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1869 there are the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional coins and Pieces of Necessity," 12th art., by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Maillet.

2. "The principal types of Russian coins of the middle ages," by M. Seguin.

3. "Medal of Boendael," by M. le Dr. Dugniolle.

4. "Numismatic curiosities, rare or inedited coins," 11th art., by M. R. Chalon.

5. "Four rare and inedited medals of the collection of M. Van Miert of Mons," by M. Parmentier.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* are recorded the deaths of MM. Van Miert Hiver Perreau, and Millies.

VIII.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

(*Continued from* p. 46.)

By Major-General A. Cunningham.

The group of coins previously described had reference to the rise of the Greek power in Eastern Asia, and was confined to the money of its founders, Diodotus I. and II. in Bactriana, Pantaleon and Agathokles in Ariana, and Antimachus Theos in India. The second group of coins, which I am now about to describe, illustrates the extension and consolidation of the Greek dominion in the East under Euthydemus and his son Demetrius, and under Eukratides and his successors Apollodotus and Menander.

The coins of Euthydemus, engraved in the accompanying Plate III., are taken partly from the British Museum collection, and partly from my own cabinet:—those of Demetrius, engraved in Plate IV., are taken entirely from my own collection.

In the Plate of Euthydemus I have arranged the portraits of various ages side by side, for the purpose of ready comparison. Certain differences in the features of some of these portraits led the late Mr. Burgon to conclude that there must have been two Bactrian kings of the name of Euthydemus. This question has already been discussed

2. ○ Æ 13. *Tetradrachma.* Plate III. Fig. 1, British Museum, 260·5 grs. Plate III. Fig, 3, Author, 257·5 grs. See also Bengal Asiat. Soc. Jour. v. pl. xlvi. fig. 3, and Arian. Ant., i. 22.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders, the whole surrounded by a beaded circle.

Rev.—Herakles standing to the front, crowned with a chaplet of oak-leaves, and holding a wreath of oak-leaves in his outstretched right hand, and a club in his left hand, with the Nemæan lion's skin hanging from his left arm. In the field to left No. 16 monogram on Fig. 2, and No. 10 monogram on Fig. 3. Legend as on No. 1.

2a. ○ Æ 8. *Drachma.* Author, 62 grs. Type and legend as No. 2. Monogram No. 16. See also Ariana Ant., pl. i. fig. 12.

3. ○ Æ 12. *Tetradrachma.* Plate III. Fig. 4. Author, 254 grs.

Obv.—Youthful head of the king, bare and diademed to the right, surrounded by a beaded circle.

Rev.—Herakles to left sitting on a rock, covered with the Nemæan lion's skin, resting his left hand on the rock behind, and grasping in his right hand a club, the end of which rests on his right knee. In the field to right monogram No. 16. Legend as on No. 1.

4. ○ Æ 10. *Tetradrachma.* Plate III. Fig. 5. Author, 256 grs. Duplicate, General Abbott. See also Bengal Asiatic Soc. Jour., iv. pl. xxv. fig. 1.

Obv.—Middle-aged head of the king bare and diademed to right, surrounded by a beaded circle.

Rev.—Herakles sitting to left, with club resting on rock in front, as on No. 1. In the field to right monogram No. 28. Legend as on No. 1. One of General Abbott's coins has monogram No. 1.

4a. ○ Æ 6½. *Drachma.* Masson collection in Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxi. fig. 2. Types as No. 4.

5. ○ Æ 12. *Tetradrachma.* Plate III. Fig. 6. Author, 254 grs. Duplicate, British Museum.

Obv.—Aged head of the king bare and diademed to right, surrounded by a beaded circle.

Rev.—Herakles sitting to left, as on No. 4, with end of club resting on right thigh. In the field to right monogram No. 16. Legend as on No. 1.

EUTHYDEMUS Theos.



PLAT.

T.J. Lee. Delt.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

5a. O Æ 7. *Drachma.* Author, 63 grs.

Obv.—Head of the king as on No. 5, but less aged, and rather more aquiline nose.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 5.

6. O Æ 10. *Obolus?* Plate III. Fig. 7. British Museum, 118 grs. Duplicate, Author, much worn, 108 grs. Extremely rare. See Jour. des Sav., Dec., 1838, p. 741, and pl. i. fig. 1, where it is described as a silver coin.

Obv.—Laurelled head of Apollo to right, surrounded by a beaded circle.

Rev.—Tripod. In the field to left monogram No. 6. Legend as on No. 1.

7. O Æ 11. *Di-chalkon?* Plate III. Fig. 8. British Museum, 160 grs. Duplicate, East India Museum.[6]

Obv.—Laurelled head of Apollo, as on No. 7.

Rev.—Tripod and legend as on No. 7. In the field to left monogram No. 3.

8. O Æ 9. *Di-chalkon?* Plate III. Fig. 9. British Museum. Duplicate, Author, 118 grs. Both broad thin coins. Two thick coins of the same type weigh respectively 122 and 121 grs.

Obv.—Bearded head of Herakles to the right, surrounded by a beaded circle.

Rev.—Horse galloping to right. Legend as on No. 1.

8a. O Æ 7½. *Chalkous.* Author, 58 grs. A thin coin.

Obv. and *Rev.* as No. 9, but with monogram No. 21. This is the only specimen of the copper money of Euthydemus that offers a monogram.

COINS OF DEMETRIUS.

1. O Æ 11. *Tetradrachma.* Plate IV. Fig. 1. Author, 243 grs. See Jour. des Sav., 1835, pl. i. fig. 4, for Honigberger's duplicate, which, it is believed, is now lost.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulder.

Rev.—Pallas Athene, helmeted and draped, standing to front, holding a spear in her upraised right hand, and resting her left hand on a buckler, which

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[6] This coin, of which nearly one-half has been cut off, is wrongly described by Wilson as having "part of a standing figure" on the reverse. See Ariana Antiqua, p. 227, No. 22.

stands on the ground beside her. Legend in two lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. In the field right the letter Δ, and to left monogram No. 25.

2. O ℞ 10. *Tetradrachma.* Plate IV. Fig. 2. Author, 239 grs., much worn.

Obv.—Youthful diademed bust of the king to right, his head covered with the spoils of an elephant, and his shoulders with the chlamys.

Rev.—Herakles standing to the front, holding the club and lion's skin in his left hand, and crowning himself with a chaplet of oak or ivy with his right hand. Legend as on No. 1. In the field to left No. 3 monogram.

2a. O ℞ 12. *Tetradrachma.* Plate IV. Fig. 3. Author, 261 grs. See Jour. des Sav., Dec., 1838, p. 743, pl. i. fig. 2; and Ariana Antiqua, pl. ii. fig. 2.

Types similar to the last; but the face middle-aged, and the monogram No. 16.

2b. O ℞ 7. *Drachma.* Plate III. Fig. 4. Author, 51 grs.

Types similar to No. 2. *Obv.* countermarked with a figure of Herakles, similar to that on the *Rev.*, and accompanied by the detached letters ΦΑΡ.

2c. O ℞ 4½. *Obolus.* Plate III. Fig. 5. Author, 10 grs.

Types as on No. 2. Monogram No. 32.

3. O ℞ 4½. *Obolus.* Plate III. Fig. 6. Author, 10·75 grs.

Obv.—Head as on No. 2, but with bare neck. Monogram No. 16. Legend as on No. 1.

4. O Æ 13. *Hexa-chalkon?* Plate IV. Fig. 7. Author, 357 grs. Duplicate, British Museum (from author), 364 grs. Third specimen, in poor condition, General Abbott.

Obv.—Shield of Pallas Athene with the Gorgon's head in the middle.

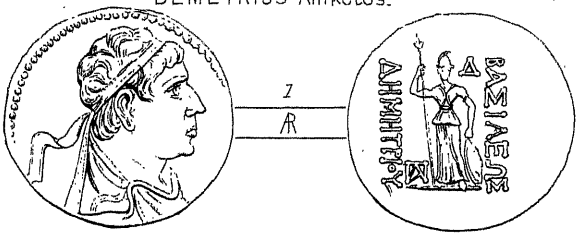
Rev.—Trident. Legend as on No. 1. In the field to left No. 33 monogram.

5. O Æ 11. *Tri-chalkon?* Plate IV. Fig. 8. Author, 783·5 grs. Extremely rare.

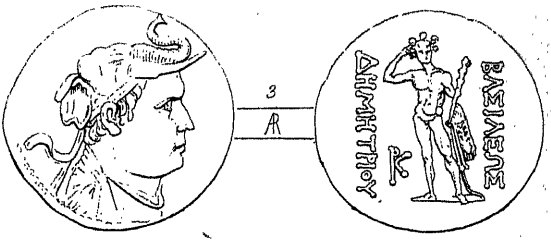
Obv.—Head of Indian elephant to right, with a bell suspended from the neck.

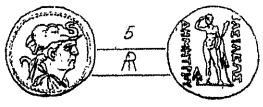
Rev.—Caduceus. Legend as on No. 1. In field to left No. 3 monogram.

DEMETRIUS Aniketos.

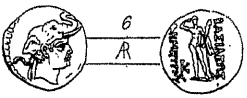


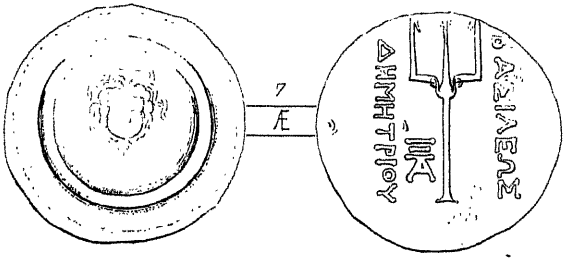


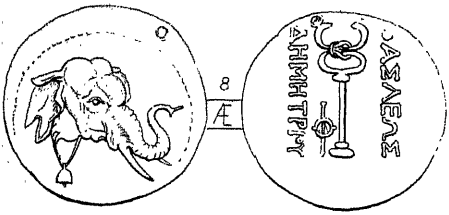


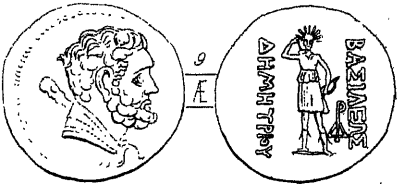


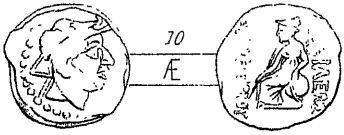


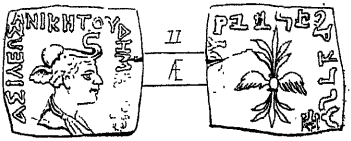












T.J.Lus. Del.

PLATE IV

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

6. ○ Æ 10. *Di-chalkon?* Plate IV. Fig. 9. Author, 128 grs. Very rare.

Obv.—Bearded head of Herakles to right, with the Nemæan lion's skin fastened in front of neck, and a club over the left shoulder.

Rev.—Radiated figure of Apollo, standing to the front, draped in a short tunic, and trousers reaching below the knees. In his left hand he holds a bow, and with his up-raised right hand he is drawing an arrow from a quiver at his back. Legend as on No. 1. In the field to left No. 36 monogram.

7. ○ Æ 7. *Chalkous.* Plate IV. Fig. 10. Author, 63 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Head of the king with elephant's spoils to the right, as on No. 2.

Rev.—Pallas Athene, helmeted and draped, sitting to left, holding a spear in her right hand, and resting her left hand on her shield, which stands on the ground by her side.

8. □ Æ 7. *Chalkous?* Plate IV. Fig. 11. Author, 84 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Youthful head of the king, covered with the elephant's spoils, and with chlamys on shoulder, as on No. 2. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Rev.—A winged thunderbolt. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa aparajitasa Deme* . . . In the field to right an indistinct monogram like No. 37.

EUTHYDEMUS.

The history of Euthydemus is derived from a single passage of Strabo, and from the interesting details given by Polybius of the Eastern campaign of Antiochus the Great. According to Strabo, the example of Diodotus was followed by Euthydemus and his party, who caused the revolt of all the country near Bactriana.[7] The date of this defection is not stated; but as we know, from Poly-

[7] Strabo, xi., 9, 2. Πρῶτον μεν τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἀπέστησαν οἱ πεπιστευμένοι; καὶ τὴν ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς πᾶσαν οἱ περὶ Εὐθύδημον.

bius, that Demetrius the son of Euthydemus was a young man of sufficient age in B.C. 207 to be deputed as ambassador to Antiochus, Euthydemus himself must have been not less than 25 or 30 years of age in B.C. 230, the date which I have adopted as the most probable period of the full establishment of his power. At that time the Eastern provinces of Alexander's empire were held as independent kingdoms by the families of the first founders: Bactriana by Diodotus II.; Arachosia, or Eastern Ariana, by Agathokles; and the Paropamisadæ by Antimachus Theos. Previous to that date I suppose that Euthydemus must have held the government of Western Ariana, that is, of Asia proper and Margiana, on the part of Diodotus I. of Bactria. The death of Diodotus in B.C. 237, and the subsequent invasion of Parthia by Seleukus Kallinikus in B.C. 236, where Diodotus formed an alliance with the Parthian king, must have presented a most tempting opportunity to Euthydemus, of which he doubtless took immediate advantage to make himself virtually independent.

According to my views Euthydemus may have been the governor of Aria and Margiana under Diodotus II., at which time I suppose him to have been between 20 and 25 years of age. His early career, after the declaration of independence, must have been devoted to the successful consolidation of his own power, while the neighbouring Princes, Agathokles of Arachosia and Antimachus of Paropamisus, became tributary to Diodotus of Bactria. About B.C. 230 his power had become so firmly established that he was able to make aggressions on his neighbours, which ended in the subjugation of Agathokles, and the dethronement, or destruction, of Diodotus II. and Antimachus about 225 B.C.

There is a difference of opinion as to the exact period

of his accession to the throne of Bactria. Bayer assigned 220 B.C., which has been adopted by Wilson;[8] while General de Bartholomæi has brought it down to 215 B.C.[9] But Lassen fixes his acquisition of Bactria in B.C. 222; while Raoul Rochette is inclined to place it some years before 220.[10] In adopting the earlier date of 225 B.C., I am therefore supported by the authority of both Lassen and Raoul Rochette, as well as by the evidence of the coins, which show that Euthydemus must have had a long reign of not less than thirty years, if we may judge by the difference in his portraiture, which ranges from youth to old age.

This conjectural early career of Euthydemus agrees with the exculpatory statement which he offered to Antiochus the Great, "that it was not just to deprive him of his kingdom, as he had not rebelled against the king, but had acquired possession of Bactriana by the destruction of the descendants of the first revolters.[11] In my account of Agathokles I have suggested that, during the campaign of Antiochus III. in Media, in B.C. 220, Agathokles may have taken advantage of the proximity of the Syrian king to make an attempt to free himself from the yoke of Euthydemus. For this purpose I suppose him to have proffered his submission to Antiochus, and to have hailed him as *Nikator*, with the promise of an easy conquest of the provinces which had revolted from

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[8] Bayer, Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., p. 40; and Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 221.

[9] Thomas's Prinsep., ii. 174.

[10] Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde II., Appendix xxiv., and Raoul Rochette in Jour. des Sav., October, 1835, p. 594.

[11] Polybius, Hist., x., Extr. 8. *Γεγονέναι γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστάτης τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων ἀποστάντων ἐπανελόμενος τοὺς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνους, οὕτω κρατῆσαι της Βακτριανῶν ἀρχῆς.*

Antiochus Theos. But the Syrian king preferred the more dazzling, but much more doubtful chance of a campaign against Ptolemy Philopator, and the unfortunate Agathokles was thus left at the mercy of Euthydemus. I conclude therefore that about the same time he must have been deprived of his dominions, and that Euthydemus then became the sole master of all the Eastern provinces of Alexander's empire.

From this time until the invasion of Bactria by Antiochus III., in B.C. 208, the history of Euthydemus is entirely unknown; but from the statement which he made to Antiochus it would appear that he must have been frequently engaged in hostilities with the nomad Scythians on the Sogdian frontier.[12] The Eastern campaign of Antiochus lasted for seven years, from B.C. 212—205. After conquering Media, Parthia, and Hyrkania, he made peace with Arsakes, and advanced towards Bactria in B.C. 208. The history of the Bactrian campaign is preserved only in two long fragments of Polybius, which are too important to be abridged.

"When Antiochus was informed that Euthydemus had encamped with his whole army near *Tagouria*, and that he had stationed a body of ten thousand cavalry upon the banks of the River Arius, to defend the passage, he immediately raised the siege, and resolved to pass the river, and to advance towards the enemy. Being distant three days' journey from the place, during the first two days

[12] Polybius, Hist., xi., Extr. 8. Euthydemus urged that peace was "necessary for their common safety; that those wandering tribes who were spread in great numbers along the borders of the province, were alike dangerous to them both; and that, if ever they should gain admittance into it, the whole country must inevitably fall into a state of barbarism."—Hampton's translation.

he moved with a moderate pace. But on the evening of the third, having ordered the rest of the army to decamp, and follow him at break of day, he took the cavalry and the light-armed troops, together with ten thousand of the peltestæ, and continued his march all night, with the greatest haste; for he had heard that the cavalry of the enemy, which guarded the passage of the river by day, retired as soon as night came on to a certain city, which was full twenty stadia distant from the river. As the country was a level plain, commodious for the march of cavalry, he arrived at the expected time, and passed the river with the greatest part of his forces before the day approached. But the Bactrian cavalry, being now informed by their scouts of what had happened, ran towards the river, and were ready to attack the troops as they marched. The king, judging it to be necessary that he should receive their first charge, exhorted the two thousand horsemen that always fought near his person, to perform their duty; and having ordered the rest to range themselves in troops and cohorts, and to take their accustomed posts, led on his body of cavalry, and engaged with the foremost of the enemy. In this action he distinguished himself above all that were with him. Many fell on both sides; but the first squadron of the enemy was at last broken by the king. When the second, and afterwards the third squadron advanced to the charge, the troops of Antiochus were in their turn pressed, and began to fall into disorder. But Panætolus, bringing up the rest of the cavalry, who were now almost all completely formed, rescued the king from the danger, and forced the Bactrians, whose ranks were already broken, to fly in great disorder. Nor did they stop their flight till they had reached the camp of Euthydemus,

being still closely pursued by Panætolus, and having lost the greatest part of their men. The royal cavalry, when they had killed great numbers, and taken many also alive, at last desisted from the pursuit, and encamped upon the banks of the river. Antiochus had a horse killed under him in the battle, and was himself wounded in the mouth, and lost some of his teeth. . . . Euthydemus, disheartened by this defeat, retreated to *Zariaspa*, a city of Bactriana, with all his army."[13]

Here the narrative of Polybius is interrupted; but as it afterwards appears that Antiochus crossed Mount Caucasus on his way to India, it seems certain that he must have advanced to Zariaspa, or Balkh, the capital of Bactriana. This being admitted, both his previous march and the scene of the battle may be fixed with some certainty, as the country is mountainous, and the roads are therefore few and permanent.

In marching from Hyrkania to Bactria, Antiochus must have followed the high road along the valley of Meshed to the fort of Muzdaran, which stands on an isolated spur of table-land, at the entrance of the Darband Pass.[14] This is the place which I suppose that Antiochus was besieging when he heard that Euthydemus was encamped at Tagouria, only three days' march distant, and that a body of cavalry was prepared to dispute the passage of the Arius River. Antiochus at once raised the siege, and resolved to cross the river, and advance against the enemy. For the first two days he moved slowly, but on the evening of the third day, leaving the main body behind, he made a forced march with all his

[13] Polybius, Hist., x., Extr. 9.
[14] Burnes's Travels, iii., 59.

cavalry, and light-armed troops. As the country was level, and easy for the march of cavalry, he reached the banks of the River Arius, and crossed it before dawn. Now the road through the Darband Pass leads direct upon the town of Sarakhs, which lies to the east of the Tejend, or Arius River, at forty-five miles distance from Muzdarân. The nature of this road also corresponds exactly with the account of Polybius; as Burnes describes the route for eighteen miles to the south-west of Sarakhs, as lying "over a *level* country, broken in some places by gravelly hillocks."[15] Sarakhs itself must therefore be the city to which the Bactrian cavalry retired at night; and Tagouria, where Euthydemus was encamped, may be looked for somewhere along the line of the Murghâb, or Margus River, in the neighbourhood of Maru-ur-Rud, or Alexandreia Margiane.

Wilson thinks that Euthydemus showed little courage or conduct[16] in retiring at once so far back as Balkh, and he therefore infers that Zariaspa should rather be in the situation of Meru or Andkoh. But the identification of Zariaspa with Bactria or Balkh, seems to me to be too well established by the direct testimony of Ptolemy, as well as by the coincidence of its name with Azergashasp or Azerasp, the famous fire-temple of Balkh, to be set aside by any reasoning founded on mere opinion. I disagree also with Wilson in thinking that Euthydemus would have shown good judgment in retiring upon Meru, for Meru stands on the edge of the desert, so that his further retreat would have been cut off, and he would have been compelled either to fight or to submit, and in

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[15] Burnes's Travels, iii., 58.
[16] Ariana Antiqua, p. 221, *note*.

such a position a defeat would have been fatal. By retiring upon Balkh there were two lines of retreat open to him; either northward into the mountains of Sogdiana, or eastward up the valley of the Oxus. By taking up this commanding position in front of his capital, Euthydemus forced his antagonist to come to terms. The memory of Alexander's long and arduous campaign in Sogdiana had not been forgotten, and as Antiochus was "desirous of putting an end to the war,[17] he accepted the peace that was offered by the Bactrian king."[18]

The negotiations are described at length by Polybius:—"Euthydemus, who was himself a native of Magnesia, endeavoured to justify his conduct, and said Antiochus had no reason for attempting to deprive him of his kingdom, since he never had rebelled against him, but had only obtained possession of Bactriana, by destroying the descendants of those who had before revolted. He insisted long upon this point, and entreated Teleas to mediate for him with Antiochus, that hostilities might cease, and that he might be allowed to retain the name of king. He urged that such a reconciliation was even necessary for their common safety. That those wandering tribes, who were spread in great numbers along the borders of the province, were alike dangerous to them both, and that if ever they should gain admittance into it, the whole country must inevitably fall into a state of barbarism. With these instructions he sent back Teleas to the king.

"Antiochus, who had been long desirous of putting an

[17] Polybius, Hist., xi., Extr. 8.

[18] The same view is held by Mr. Bunbury, who says that Antiochus "appears to have despaired of effecting his subjugation by force, as he was readily induced to make terms."—Smith's Dictionary in v. Euthydemus.

end to the war, acknowledged the force of these reasons, and declared himself willing to accept the peace that was offered. And when Teleas had gone and returned again many times, Euthydemus at last sent his own son, Demetrius, to ratify the treaty. The king received him favourably, and, judging by his appearance and his conversation, as well as by a certain air of majesty that was conspicuous in his person, that the young man was worthy of a kingdom, he promised to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and to suffer his father to retain the name of king. The rest of the treaty was expressed in writing, and the alliance confirmed by oaths."[19]

This easy termination of the war, so favourable to the Bactrian king, was partly secured by the surrender of all his elephants. Antiochus then crossed the Caucasus into India, where he renewed his alliance with the Indian king, Sophagasenus, and obtained more elephants, and the promise of a payment in money. He then marched through Arachosia and Drangiana into Karmania, where he passed the winter, and in the following year, B.C. 205, he returned to Syria.

The full terms of the treaty with Euthydemus are not stated by Polybius; but it seems highly probable that they must have included the surrender either of the whole or of a part of the Kabul valley. This province of the Paropamisadæ had been formerly ceded to India by Seleukus Nikator, in return for a large present of five hundred elephants. As a similar present of elephants was made by Sophagasenus to Antiochus, it is probable that the Indian king may have urged the original cession of the province to Sandrokoptus by Seleukus, and that

[19] Polybius, Hist., xi., Extr. 8.

Antiochus was not unwilling to secure a large number of elephants by the easy transfer of a district, which he could not himself hold. But the return of Antiochus, and the resumption of his designs upon Egypt, offered a favourable opportunity to the ambition of the Bactrian king for the recovery of his Indian provinces, which was soon followed by the invasion of India itself. It seems doubtful, however, whether the conquest of the Panjâb was effected towards the latter end of the reign of Euthydemus, or during the early career of his son, Demetrius. Bayer first proposed the correction of Euthydemia for Ptolemy's Εὐθυμηδία, the Greek name of *Sangala*, a suggestion which has been generally adopted; but he assigned the renewing of the town to Demetrius.[20] Both Lassen and Wilson have objected that there is no evidence that the change of name was due to Demetrius.[21] But it seems to me that the bare fact that an honour to the name of Euthydemus could not have originated with an enemy is a sufficient proof that the new name must have been imposed either by Euthydemus himself, or by his son, as Demetrius was eventually supplanted by Eukratides, who belonged to another family. My own impression is that the conquest of the Panjâb was most probably effected by the Prince Demetrius during the reign of his father. In coming to this conclusion I am partly influenced by the fact that single specimens of the copper money of Euthydemus are occasionally met with in the Western Panjâb, but chiefly because several of his

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[20] Bayer, Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., p. 85., "non dubito fere Demetrium hanc urbem Εὐθυδημείαν vocasse ab Euthydemo parente, sed *defuncto* eodem," &c.

[21] Lassen on Bactrian coins; Dr. Roer's translation, p. 154; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 230.

copper coins were found in the bed of the Indus at Attok in 1840, while raising a sunken boat.

That the Indian war was begun by Euthydemus was first suggested by Bayer, who thought that, after the peace with Antiochus, Euthydemus turned his arms against the nomads and the Indians. But he inferred that the Indian war must have terminated unfortunately, because (as he believed) Menander, and not Demetrius, was the successor of Euthydemus.[22] This error regarding the relative dates and positions of these two princes was only dispelled in our own times by the discovery of their coins, which prove most clearly, not only that Demetrius did reign in Bactria immediately after his father, but that Menander did not reign there, and was besides many years posterior to Demetrius. If this knowledge had been accessible to Bayer, it seems very probable that he would have come to a different conclusion regarding the termination of the Indian war; and that he would, therefore, have assigned the renaming of Sangala to Euthydemus himself.

The date of the death of Euthydemus is variously estimated by the different authorities.[23] Thus Vaillant places the extreme limit of his reign in A.U.C. 555, or B.C. 199, while Bayer assigns B.C. 195, and Raoul Rochette, Wilson,

[22] Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., p. 74. "Non est absurdum statuere post illam pacem Euthydemum arma vertisse in Nomadas, quorum vires superiori bello formidaverat et in Indos, ut infra dicemus. Hoc autem bellum Indicum malum denique cessisse videtur, quod ex haud obscuris argumentis concludo, Menandrum Ineiæ regem, successorem Euthydemi fuisse, non Demetrium filium."

[23] Vaillant, Parth. Hist., i., Canon Chronolog. 27. Bayer, Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact. 41. R. Rochette, Jour. des Savants: Oct. 1835, 594. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 220. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, ii., App. xxiv.

and Bartholomæi bring it down to 190. Lassen, on the other hand, takes it back to 205, and my own opinion is in favour of B.C. 200. But as all are unanimous in assigning him a reign of from 25 to 35 years, in agreement with the marked differences of age observable in the various portraits on his coins, the period of his death will depend on the date of his accession. Now, I have already shown that the most probable date of his accession to the throne of Bactria was about B.C. 230, or not later than 225, and consequently the most probable date of his death will be about B.C. 200.

The silver money of Euthydemus is very common in Balkh and Bokhara, to the north of the Caucasus, and less common in Kabul, Kandahar and Sistan. His copper coins, which are perhaps less numerous than the silver, are found in about equal numbers in Sistan and Kandahar, and throughout the Kabul valley. Colonel Stacy describes them as "very common in Sistan and Kandahar;" and his testimony is supported by that of Captain Hutton, who obtained five specimens in Sistan.[24] Masson collected six copper coins at Begram, and ten more at other places in the Kabul valley.[25] From these well-ascertained find-spots of his coins, it seems quite certain that Euthydemus must have possessed Sogdiana and Bactria, to the north of the Caucasus, with Arachosia, Drangiana, and the Paropamisadæ to the south. To

[24] My old friend, Colonel Stacy, commanded a regiment at Kandahar in 1839, '40, and '41, where he made a large collection of coins, which is now in the museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society in Calcutta. Captain Hutton was employed in the Commissariat Department in Sistan and Kandahar during the same period. His collection came to me by purchase. From both I received many valuable notes as to the comparative rarities of the coins and the localities whence they were obtained.

[25] Bengal Asiatic Soc. Jour., v., pp. 11, 21, 547.

these we may add Aria and Margiana, as he advanced to the banks of the Arius River, and beyond the Margus or Murghâb River, to oppose Antiochus. This extent of the Kingdom of Euthydemus, which I have deduced from the actual find-spots of his coins, is supported by the testimony of Apollodorus of Artamita, who says that the Greeks of Bactria "became so powerful, by means of the fertility and advantage of the country, that they made themselves masters of Ariana and India."[26] This wide extent of dominion is also indicated by the monograms, if my readings of them be correct. Thus No. 1 represents Nautaka, in Sogdiana; No. 9 is Iotale, in Margiana; No. 28 is Herakleia, in Aria; No. 10 is Arachotus, the capital of Arachosia; and Nos. 3 and 16 are Alexandreia Ophiane, and Kartana, the chief cities of the Paropamisadæ.

According to Polybius,[27] Euthydemus was a native of Magnesia; a fact which it is equally pleasing and interesting to find perpetuated by the king himself in the adoption of the galloping horse of the coins of Magnesia[28] as the common type of his own copper money. The obverse has a bearded head of Herakles, crowned with a chaplet of oak or ivy. The gold and silver coins offer a bare diademed head of the king on the obverse, with a figure of Herakles sitting on the reverse. On the rarer silver coins, Herakles is represented crowned with a wreath of oak or ivy, standing to the front, with a club and lion's skin on his left arm, and holding out a second wreath in his right hand. As Herakles was one of the

[26] Strabo, Geogr., xi., 11, 2. Τοσοῦτων δ' ἴσχυσαν οἱ ἀποστήσαντες Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν (τὴν Βακτριάν) διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας, ὥστε τῆς Ἀριανῆς ἐπεκράτουν, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν.

[27] Polybius, Hist., x., Extr. 8. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Εὐθύδημος Μάγνης.

[28] Müller, Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand, pl. xv., fig. 1070.

two mythical conquerors of India,[29] I suppose that this second wreath is offered to the king himself, and that the type is designed to show the hero's acknowledgment of Euthydemus as another conqueror of India. Pantaleon and Agathokles, the predecessors of Euthydemus, had already appropriated the type of Bacchus, who was regarded as the first conqueror of the East; and the adoption of the type of Herakles by Euthydemus was only a repetition of the same idea.

The nickel coins, as well as the larger pieces of copper, refer wholly to the worship of Apollo. The head of the god is laurelled and youthful, and is perhaps intended as an ideal representation of the king himself, as the coins most probably belong to the early part of his reign, before he had discontinued the nickel coinage, which is peculiar to his two predecessors, Pantaleon and Agathokles, and to himself.

DEMETRIUS (Aniketos).

The earliest notice of Demetrius is by Polybius, who relates that, while yet a youth, he was sent by his father to conclude the treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. "The king received him favourably, and judging by his appearance and his conversation, as well as by a certain air of majesty that was conspicuous in his person, that the young man was worthy of a kingdom, he promised to give him one of his daughters in marriage,[30] and to suffer his father to retain the name of king." Bayer doubts this fact, because Antiochus was only fifteen years of age at his accession in B.C. 223; and asks how he could have promised one of his daughters when he had none.[31] But

[29] Arrian. Indica, vii. and viii.

[30] Hist., xi., Extr. 8. Ἐπηγγείλατω δώσειν αὐτῷ μίαν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρων.

[31] Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., p. 74. "Quas tum potuit Demetrio despondere filias, cum haberet nullas?"

his eldest son, Antiochus, was born in 220, and as he had a large family of nine or ten children, he may easily have had two or three daughters before B.C. 207. The names of three daughters, Laodike, Kleopatra, and Antiochis, are recorded as the wives of Prince Antiochus, of Ptolemy, and of Ariarathes; and a fourth daughter, without name, is mentioned as having been offered to Eumenes in B.C. 188. The last was most probably born after the Eastern campaign; but as we know that Kleopatra was fourteen years old at the time of her marriage in B.C. 193, it is certain that she must have been born in B.C. 207 or 208; and, consequently, I see no reason to doubt the statement of Polybius that Antiochus had promised one of his daughters to Demetrius in B.C. 207.

Wilson thinks that Demetrius was then "probably little more than a boy, and not of marriagable years;"[32] but, as Polybius styles him a young man, I conclude that the reason why Antiochus only promised his daughter was on account of *her* youth, and not because Demetrius was too young to be married. For it seems highly improbable that a young man, who was sent by his father to ratify a treaty with the great King of Syria, should have been of too immature an age for an eastern marriage. Indeed, Antiochus himself was only seventeen years old at his marriage in B.C. 221, and it is quite incredible that Demetrius could have been a boy of less age in B.C. 207.

The accession of Demetrius to the throne of Bactria has also been doubted by Bayer, chiefly because he is called by Justin "King of the Indians."[33] But these doubts have been satisfactorily dispelled by the discovery of more than fifty specimens of his coins, nearly all

[32] Ariana Antiqua, p. 228.

[33] Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., p. 75, "Neque omnino Bactriorum fuisse regem."

of which were found in Bactria and Ariana. This is further confirmed by the notice of Strabo, that the Greeks, under Demetrius and Menander, had extended their dominion in the East to the Seres and Phauni beyond Sogdiana, and into India as far as the Isamus.[34] For the coins of Menander, which are numerous in the Kabul valley and Panjâb, and not uncommon in North India, are not found at all to the north of the Caucasus, or Hindoo Kush; and, consequently, the extension of the Greek dominion beyond Sogdiana must be assigned to Demetrius. We know also from Polybius, that the Nomad Scythians had already become troublesome during the reign of Euthydemus, and at his death, I suppose them to have taken advantage of the absence of Demetrius in the Panjâb to invade Sogdiana. Thus arrested in his early career of Indian conquest, Demetrius must have returned at once to Bactria, to begin a campaign against the Scythians, in which he carried his victorious arms beyond the limits of Alexander's empire to the distant Seres and Phauni.

The exact position of these barbarous tribes has not hitherto been fixed. But if the Phauni, or Phruni, are the same people as the Grinæi Scythians of Ptolemy, they were probably located in the neighbourhood of Kashgar and Yarkand. The Seres and Phruri are mentioned by Dionysius Periegetes,[35] along with the Tokhari on the Jaxartes; and the same people are no doubt

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[34] Geogr., xv., 11, 1. Bayer reads *Σύρων καὶ Φαύνων*; but all the editions that I have consulted have *Σήρων καὶ Φαύνων*. Lassen has *Φρύνων*; Lassen's Bactrian Coins, Dr. Roer's translation, p. 153. Some MSS. give *Σύρων*.

[35] Orb. Descript., v. 752.—*και Τοχαροι, Φρουροι τε, καὶ εθνεα βαρβαρα Σήρων*. Avienus, v. 934, and Priscianus, v. 727, have *Phruri;* but Eustathius, in his Commentary, gives *Phruni*.

intended by Pliny's Thyri (or Thuni) and Tochari; and by the Thyni and Phocari of Solinus.[36] Some MSS. also read Σύρων instead of Σήρων; and this I believe to be the true reading, as I find that *Su-le* was the old Chinese name of Kashgar in the time of the Han dynasty, which was contemporary with Demetrius.[37] The *Phruri*, or *Phruni*, I take to be the same as the people of *Phu-li*, one of the four nations that were subject to the *Shu-kiu-pho* (*i.e.*, the *Sokpos* or Sakas) at the same time. The *Sokpo* territory is described as lying 1,000 *li*, or 167 miles, to the west of Khotan, 300 *li*, or 50 miles, to the north of the Tsung-ling or Karakoram Mountains, and 900 *li*, or 150 miles, to the south of *Su-le*, or Kashgar. It thus corresponds exactly with the present Yarkand, as well as with the country of the *Sakai*, or Sakas, of Ptolemy, whom he places to the south of the Grinæi Scythæ. Now at this very time, or in B.C. 200, according to the Chinese authorities, Mothé, the great chief of the Hiung-nu, had driven the *Yuchi*, or Tokhari, from their territories, and had subdued the whole country up to the banks of the Volga on the west.[38] These successes of the Hiung-nu must have forced the conquered nations towards the west, and thus have brought them into contact with the Greeks of Bactriana, on the banks of the Jaxartes. For a time, however, their further advance was stayed by the victories of Demetrius, who carried his arms into the midst of their territories, and added fresh lustre to the Grecian name.

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[36] Plinii. Nat. Hist., vi. 20. Ab Attacoris gentes *Phuri* et *Tochari*.—Solini—c.

[37] Remusat's Fo-kwe-ki, c. iv., n. 3. Kao-tsu, the founder of the Han dynasty reigned from 202 to 194 B.C.

[38] D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. vi., p. 9, *in voce* Turk.

The period of this Scythian campaign is determined partly by the death of Euthydemus, and partly by the date of the forced migration of the Yuchi and other Scythian tribes towards the Jaxartes. Now, I have already shown that both of these events must have taken place either in or about B.C. 200; and as they almost certainly preceded the campaign of Demetrius, I believe that the date of his Scythian conquests may be assigned with some certainty to the very beginning of the second century, or between 200 and 196 B.C.

After the close of the Scythian campaign, it is probable that Demetrius returned to his original project of extending the Bactrian dominions towards India. Justin actually designates him as "King of the Indians;"[39] and as the famous passage of Strabo, describing the conquests of the Bactrian kings, refers the eastern extension beyond the Hypanis to Menander, it seems almost certain that the southern extension to Patalene must have been due to Demetrius. The elephant head-dress on his coins refers pointedly to the conquest of India, which is confirmed by the title of *Aniketos*, or the Invincible, on his Indian coin, while the title of "King of the Indians" given by Justin would seem to refer to the actual occupation of the country.

The passage of Strabo regarding this conquest is so important that it must be quoted at full length.[40] "The Greeks, who caused the revolt of Bactriana, became so

[39] Hist., xli., 6, "regis Indorum."

[40] Geog., xi., 11, 1.—καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος. Εἶγε καὶ τὸν Ὕπανιν διέβη πρὸς ἕω καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰσάμου προῆλθε. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς, τὰ δὲ Δημήτριος, ὁ Εὐθυδήμου υἱος, τοῦ Βακτρίων βασιλέως. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν Παταληνὴν κατέσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας τήν τε Σαριόστου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Σιγέρτιδος βασιλείαν. Καθ' ὅλου δὲ, φησιν ἐκεῖνος, τῆς συμπάσης Ἀριανῆς πρόσχημα εἶναι τὴν Βακτριανήν. καὶ δὲ καὶ μέχρι Σύρων καὶ Φρύρων ἐξέτειναν τὴν ἀρχήν.

powerful by means of the fertility and advantages of the country, according to Apollodorus of Artamita, that they made themselves masters of Ariana and India. Some of these princes subdued more nations than Alexander himself; particularly Menander, who, crossing the Hypanis, penetrated eastward as far as the Isamus. But though the Greek conquests were chiefly due to Menander, yet they were partly also due to Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, King of Bactria. Thus they conquered Patalene, and advancing along the coast they subjected the kingdoms of *Sarioustus* and *Sigertis*."

On this passage Lassen remarks that, "to Demetrius we must assign the conquest of Ariana, namely, the country of the Paropamisadæ, and Arachosia." The same opinion had already been formed by Bayer, on the authority of Isidorus of Kharax, who mentions amongst the chief places of Arachosia the town of *Demetrias*, which both Bayer and Lassen think must have been so named by the Bactrian king.[41] This inference is doubtless correct, as the province of Arachosia had fallen into the possession of the Parthians before the accession of the Syrian Demetrius. But as I have already shown, on the unimpeachable testimony of the find-spots of his copper coins, that the conquest of Drangiana, Arachosia, and the Paropamisadæ, must be assigned to the reign of Euthydemus, it is probable that the foundation of the town in honour of Demetrius may have taken place before his accession to the throne. It is certain, at least, that if he was the conqueror of Drangiana or Arachosia, it must have been during the lifetime of his father. But, according to Strabo, the province of Ariana was not limited to Arachosia and the

[41] Bayer Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., p. 84. Lassen on Bactrian Coins, by Roer, p. 154.

Paropamisadæ, but comprised also Gedrosia and the country of the Oritæ to the south. To Demetrius, therefore, I would assign the conquest of southern Ariana, from whence he extended his arms through the Bolân and Gandâva passes to Patalene, or the lower valley of the Indus, and then, stretching along the coast, he subjected the kingdoms of Sarioustus and Sigertis.

The conquest of Patalene is ascribed to Menander by both Lassen and Wilson,[42] on the ground that the drachmæ of Apollodotus and Menander were still current at Barygaza in the second century of the Christian æra. But as Lassen makes Apollodotus the predecessor of Menander, his coins could not have been current in the country before its conquest. Wilson is more consistent, as he places Apollodotus after Menander, while Raoul Rochette[43] makes him the son and successor of Menander. But as both Trogus Pompeius and the author of the Periplus place the name of Apollodotus before that of Menander, it seems to me most probable that he must have preceded Menander. The find-spots of his coins show that he must have reigned in Arachosia and Drangiana; and as not a single specimen of Menander was obtained in those countries either by Colonel Stacy or by Captain Hutton, it is certain that he did not reign there. From these facts I conclude that both Arachosia and Drangiana had fallen into the hands of the Parthians before the accession of Menander, and that he must therefore have been posterior to Apollodotus. If this be admitted, it follows that the conquest of Patalene could not have been due to Menander, but to Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus. To him,

[42] Lassen on Bactrian Coins, p. 153. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 280.

[43] Jour. des Sav., Oct., 1835, p. 579.

therefore, must be ascribed the greatest extension of the Greek power in the East, as his authority was acknowledged from the banks of the Jaxartes to the mouths of the Indus, and from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Hyphasis.

Wilson, however, not only ascribes the conquest of Patalene to Menander, but excludes Demetrius from India altogether. According to his view, "neither from a consideration of probability, nor from the evidence afforded by the coins of Demetrius, can we attach any credit to his Indian sovereignty."[44] And in another place[45] he adds that the "absence of bilingual inscriptions excludes the coins of Demetrius from any community of circulation with those coins of which the Indian origin cannot be doubted." The last objection is removed by the discovery of the square bilingual coin No. 11 of the accompanying Plate IV.; and the fact of his Indian sovereignty is too well attested by Strabo and Justin to be set aside by a mere opinion, which is unsupported either by fact or by argument.

The date of this Indian campaign may be fixed approximately towards 192 B.C. The Scythian war was finished about B.C. 196; and if we allow two years for rest and preparation, the campaign in Southern Ariana would have occupied the year 193, while the invasion of Patalene would have taken up the whole of the year 192, and the campaign against Sarioustus and Sigertis would not have been completed until the close of B.C. 191. During the continuation of the Indian war I conjecture that Eukratides was left as Satrap in Bactriana; and that about B.C. 190 he took advantage of the prolonged absence of his sovereign to make himself independent.

[44] Ariana Antiqua, p. 230. [45] Ariana Antiqua, p. 231.

Our only authority for this period of Bactrian history is a single passage of Justin,[46] in which, after describing the rise of Eukratides in Bactria, and of Mithridates in Parthia, as being nearly contemporary, he adds that "Eukratides carried on many wars with great vigour, being weakened by which, when he was besieged with only three hundred men by Demetrius, he, by continual sallies, withstood sixty thousand of the enemy. Wherefore being delivered in the fifth month, he reduced India under his power." From this passage it may be inferred that Demetrius had first overcome Eukratides in the field, and that the defeated chief had taken refuge with a small body of men in some strong fort, where he was closely besieged for five months, and reduced to very great straits. With such scant information it is difficult to form more than a conjecture as to the probable scene of this remarkable event in Bactrian history. But two inferences may be drawn, which seem to me to be nearly certain: *first*, that the fort must have been a small place, of difficult access, otherwise it could not have been defended successfully by three hundred men; and *second*, that as Eukratides was not relieved until the fifth month, his defeat must have occurred in winter, somewhat to the south of the Hindu Kush, or Snowy Caucasus, so that his Bactrian friends could not come to his assistance for some months. Either Kilât-i-Ghilzi in Arachosia, or Aornos near the Indus, would satisfy both of these conditions, and to one of them I would assign the honour of being the probable scene of this famous defence.

[46] Hist. xli. 6.—"Multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit; quibus attritus, cum obsidionem Demetrii regis Indorum pateretur cum CCC militibus LX millia hostium assiduis eruptionibus vicit. Quinto itaque mense liberatus Indiam in potestatem redegit."

From the brief notice of Justin it might be supposed that the contest between Demetrius and Eukratides was limited to this single siege, but it is more probable that the operations in the field may have extended over one or two years; and that the relief of Eukratides, and his final triumph, did not take place until two or three years after his revolt, which may therefore be dated about B.C. 187.

I think it probable that Eukratides was not alone in this revolt, and that his success may have been partly due to the simultaneous defection of Antimachus Nikephoros, whom I suppose to have been either a son or a grandson of Antimachus Theos. It is probable that some descendants of the original revolters, Diodotus, Pantaleon, and Antimachus, and more especially females, may have escaped the general destruction of their families by Euthydemus. Such perhaps was Laodike, the wife of Heliokles and mother of Eukratides, whom I suppose to have been the daughter either of Diodotus II., or of Antimachus Theos. Such also must have been Antimachus Nikephoros, who, judging from his name, was either a son or grandson of Antimachus I. He therefore would naturally have joined the party of Eukratides against the son of Euthydemus, and to him I would assign the defection of the Eastern Paropamisadæ, or Lower Kabul valley.

At the close of hostilities in B.C. 187 I suppose that the dominions of the Eastern Greeks were divided between the three rival princes. Eukratides obtained possession of Bactriana, including Bactria proper, Sogdiana and Margiana; Antimachus got the Paropamisadæ; while Demetrius retained Ariana and India, or Aria, Drangiana, Arachosia and Gedrosia, with the Pentapotamia, or Panjâb, and Patalene, or Sindh. But the boundaries of

the rival states were most probably well defined; and I presume that the Western Paropamisadæ, or the Upper Kabul valley, and its capital the Caucasian Alexandria, which was situated at the τριοδον, or meeting of the three roads from Bactriana, Ariana, and India, may have changed masters several times, according to the temporary ascendency of one of the rival princes.

The further history of Demetrius is not known, but I conjecture that he may have continued to reign over Ariana and India until about B.C. 180, when he either died or was killed in battle, after a chequered but not inglorious reign of twenty years. Ariana then fell to Eukratides; but the Indian provinces most probably still remained in the possession of the family of Demetrius, as I conclude that Lysias, who adopted the types of the elephant head-dress, the head of Herakles with club, and the standing Herakles crowning himself, must have been his son and successor.

The romantic career of Demetrius, who shared with Menander the glory of having extended the Grecian empire in the East, would seem to have attracted the eager notice of his countrymen in the West. His royal bearing as a youth had won the regard of Antiochus, and his exploits as a man had pushed the Greek dominion in the East beyond the conquests of Alexander. To him was due the glory of having carried the Greek arms across the mountains of Imaus on the north, and beyond the mouths of the Indus on the south. His dominions embraced the fairest and the richest portion of the ancient Persian empire; and the vanity of his countrymen was flattered by hearing that the gods of Greece were worshipped on the Indian Caucasus, and that distant nations beyond the Sogdians and Indians had yielded to the

happy influence of Hellenic genius.[47] The exploits of Demetrius were no doubt related in the Parthian history of Apollodorus of Artamita. But of this work we have only a single passage preserved by Strabo, which has already been quoted. It seems probable, however, that the story of Demetrius must have been preserved in some other ancient work down to a very late period, as Chaucer gives a description of

"The great Emetrius, the King of Ind,"

in the "Knight's Tale," which he derived from Boccaccio, who professes to have translated it into "vulgar Latin" (*i.e.*, Italian) from *una antichissima storia*. Tyrwhitt doubts this statement, and thinks that he must have taken the story from some Greek original, an opinion in which I fully concur. The part of the poem which I suppose to refer to the son of Euthydemus is the description of the king's personal appearance.

"With Arcite, in stories as men find
The great Emetrius, the King of Ind,
Upon a steedé bay, trapped in steele,
Covered with clothe of gold, diápred wele
Came riding like the God of Armes, Mars.
* * * * *
His crispé hair like ringés was yrun,
And that was yellowe, and glittered as the sun;
His nose was high, his eyen bright citrene,
His lippés round, his colour was sanguine;

---

[47] Such, at least, was the effect of the exploits of Alexander on the mind of Plutarch; and it is only reasonable to suppose that his feelings were generally shared by his countrymen. Διὰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς Ἕλλήνων θεοὺς Βάκτρα καὶ Καύκασος προσεκύνησε . . . Ἀλέξανδρος δε . . κατασπείρας τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνικοῖς τέλεσι . . . οὐδὲ Προφθασίαν Σογδιανοὶ, ουδ' Ἰνδία Βουκεφαλίαν, οὐδε πόλιν Ἑλλάδα Καύκασος περιοικοῦσαν, αἷς ἐμποδισθείσαις ἐσβέσθη τὸ ἄγριον.

A fewé fracknés in his face ysprent,
Betwixen yellow and black somdeal yment;[48]
And as a lion he his loking cast;
Of five and twenty years his age I cast."

The fair complexion, as well as the Greek name of the king of India, shows that the poet intends to describe a European, and not a native of the East. His youth and royal bearing tally exactly with the account of Polybius; and his aquiline nose is seen on all the coins of the King of Bactria. This curious and interesting coincidence is so close and precise that it can scarcely be accidental; and I feel a strong inclination to identify the great Emetrius of Chaucer with the son of Euthydemus of Bactria.

The coins of Demetrius in the accompanying plate have all been taken from my own cabinet. The copper coins are less numerous than the silver, but all are rare, and several are unique, or nearly so. The type of Athene has already been published by Raoul Rochette,[49] from Honigberger's tetradrachm, which I believe has since been lost. The learned Frenchman has suggested that this type appears to be imitated from the coins of the kings of Kappadokia, and specially from those of Antiochus IX., Philopator, and Seleukus VI., Nikator of Syria; but he must have overlooked the fact that the whole of these

[48] These lines have been modernised by Dryden with his usual spirit and vigour:—

"His amber-coloured locks in ringlets run
With graceful negligence, and shone against the sun;
His nose was aquiline, his eyes were blue;
Ruddy his lips, and fair and fresh his hue,
Some sprinkled freckles on his face were seen
Whose dusk set off the whiteness of the skin."

[49] Jour. des Sav., Sept., 1835, p. 520, pl. i., fig. 4. See the accompanying Plate IV., fig. 1.—"Le type de la Minerve debout, tel qu'il est ici figuré, semble imité de celui des monnaies des rois de Cappadoce, et de celles des rois de Syrie, notamment d'Antiochus IV., Philopator, et de Seleucus VI., Nicator."

princes were posterior to Demetrius of Bactria. The action of the goddess on the Bactrian coins is also different, and corresponds minutely with her figure, as represented on a Bactrian gem. I would refer those coins which offer a bare head of the king to the early part of his reign, before the commencement of the Indian campaign. The usual representation shows the king's head covered with an elephant's skin, which no doubt refers to the conquest of India. So also does the elephant's head on Fig. 8; but the accompanying caduceus I am unable to explain. The trident in Fig. 7 probably refers to some naval success, such as the passage of the Indus, or perhaps an actual sea-fight off the coast of Patalene or Surasbtra during his Indian campaign. But the most interesting of the coins of Demetrius is the square copper piece, Fig. 11, the reverse of which offers a literal translation in the Indian language, and in Arian letters, of the Greek legend of the obverse. On this coin Demetrius assumes the title of *Aniketos*, or the "Invincible," which is further typified by the Thunderbolt of Zeus, who is invincible amongst the gods.

Many of the coins of Euthydemus and Demetrius take high rank as works of art, and some of them may be compared with advantage with the contemporary coins of the Seleukidæ of Syria. The spirited treatment of the elephant's head on the coins of Demetrius, and more particularly on Fig. 8 of the accompanying plate, is specially deserving of notice, as alike truthful and artistic. On the coins of his contemporary, Antiochus the Great, the elephant is represented with a trunk of twice the natural length and thickness, which widens towards the end like a cornucopiæ.

(*To be continued.*)

IX.

ON THE COINS OF TOMI, CALLATIA, &c., COLLECTED BY W. H. CULLEN, M.D.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 19, 1867).

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society a brief account of a small collection of ancient coins recently procured at Kustendji, the modern site of the ancient Thracian city of Tomi, in Mœsia, by my friend Dr. W. H. Cullen, who has been resident there for some years, acting as a medical man. I am induced to do so chiefly because the locality where these coins were met with is one of some antiquarian interest, and because the researches which Dr. Cullen has made, together with the Greek inscriptions he has recently sent home, and which my colleague, Mr. Newton, will, I hope, edit for the Royal Society of Literature, have set at rest the much-disputed question whether the modern Turkish town of Kustendji represents the Tomi to which Ovid was banished by Augustus.

Now, from ancient history, we know that a certain place called Tomis (τομίς, by Strabo, vii. 319; by Ovid, Trist. iii. 9, 33; by the Geographer of Ravenna, iv. 6), or Tomi (by Plin., iv. § 18; Statius, § 1, 2, 25; by the Itinerary of Antoninus, p. 227), Tomoe (by Mela, ii. 2), and

Tomeus—τομέος (by Steph. Byzantinus, s. v.; and by Arrian, Peripl. M. Eux., p. 24), was a town of Lower Mœsia, on the Euxine, and, according to Sozomen (Hist. Eccles., vii. 25) and Hierocles (p. 637), the capital of the Roman province of Scythia Minor. It was situated about thirty-six miles from Istros (Anon. Per. M. Eux., p. 12), or, according to the Tabula Peutingeriana, about forty miles. In Classical history, it was considered to be, like Istros, Callatia, and other places in its neighbourhood, a colony of Miletus, while, in mythological story, it was the spot where Medea cut up the body of her brother Absyrtus, and where their father Aetes collected and buried the various fragments of his son (Ovid, l. c.; Apollod., i. 9, 26; Hygin., Tab. 13). The legend is no doubt connected with, and, not improbably derived from, the name of the town, which is itself directly connected with the past tense or participle of the Greek verb τέμνω, "to cut."

Ovid alludes to this legend in the lines—

> "Indè Tomis dictus locus hic; quia fertur in illo
> Membra soror fratris consecuisse sui;"
> Trist iii. Eleg. ix., v. 33, 34.

and to the planting of Greek colonies in the barbarous region of Mœsia in the following:—

> "Hic quoque sunt igitur Graiæ (quis crederet?) urbes,
> Inter inhumanæ nomina barbariæ;
> Huc quoque Mileto missi venere coloni,
> Inque Getis Graias constituere domos:
> Sed vetus huic nomen, positâque antiquius urbe
> Constat ab Absyrti cæde fuisse loco."
> Trist. iii. Eleg. ix., v. 1—6.

Of its history subsequently to its presumed settlement by colonists from Miletus, we have no knowledge; and, except from the occurrence of a few rather later autono-

mous coins, and of a series of imperial Greek money from Tiberius to Philippus Junior, we should have scarcely any record even of its existence. The verses of Ovid alone rescue it from deserved oblivion—it having played, so far as I can find, no important part in the intervening history of the world. The position, in fact, it occupied on the outer frontier of European civilisation, and away from those great natural and physical lines of march which ancient, no less than modern, conquerors have been compelled to follow, removed it from the action of those stirring influences which have secured for other cities not far from it an interest long abiding.

Dr. Cullen has sent me a brief notice of the present state of the place itself, some portions of which I have extracted as follows. He begins by stating that, in a report furnished by Mr. Forester, chief engineer to the Danube and Black Sea Railways Company, that gentleman observes that all researches tend to fix Tomi in or near the site of Kustendji, and that he had found good reason to believe that Tomos, the site of Ovid's banishment, was immediately contiguous to, if not identical with, this modern Turkish town. Dr. Cullen goes on to confirm this judgment by stating that he has himself found the remains of buildings of great size and solidity all over the area of the promontory on which the modern town is situated, as well as a portion of a mole stretching out into the sea, and still in wonderful preservation. On the east side of the town, the living rock has been excavated in two places, probably for sewers, as their presumed mouths abut on the shore at the sea-level.

The operations of the railway, as well as the excavations in the town, required for the erection of numerous magazines and houses, have brought to light the foundations

of what must have been once large and admirably-built temples or public buildings. The Greek inscriptions, copies of which have been sent to England, have been all excavated within the limits of this promontory, and the coins have all been dredged up from the harbour, or discovered in the ground in the immediate neighbourhood, often at depths of more than 12 feet below the present surface soil. Dr. Cullen adds that he has not been able to discover any remains of the place called by the geographers *Naxos apud Tomi*, unless this ancient place be represented by a village now called Anadol-Kivi, about a mile and a quarter from Tomi, where not only coins of Tomi are frequently dug up, but where there are still *in situ* many large blocks of carefully-hewn stone, and where, on the pedestal of a column, an inscription with the name "Titius Crispus," belonging, in all probability, to a temple of Minerva, was also discovered. In the immediate vicinity of this spot there are still lying about parts of fine marble columns, nearly 2 feet in diameter, and 8 to 10 feet long. Of the traditional wall of Trajan but little now remains, as the materials have been all grubbed up by the Tátars, and brought into the town for building purposes.

There is abundant evidence that, in ancient times, the Dobrudja must have been very populous, as one meets with the foundations of large buildings and of marble columns scattered over the whole country, in localities, too, where no other signs of occupation can now, at least, be detected. Ovid's description of a winter at Tomi, in his "Tristia," is exceedingly interesting, as the same account is exactly applicable at the present day; and his complaint of the utter absence of trees, even of willows, proves that, in the long course of years, the

external aspect of this district has not altered in any respect; we may now easily count the trees from the railway carriage on either side for the first thirty miles.

It is worth while to quote Ovid's own lines:—

"Orbis in extremi jaceo desertus arenis:
Fert ubi perpetuas obruta terra nives.
Non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uvas;
Non salices ripâ, robora monte virent
* * * * *
Quocunque aspicias, campi cultore carentes
Vastaque, quæ nemo vindicet, arva jacent."
Epist. ex. Ponto, i. 3, 49—56.

At Mangalia, formerly Callatia or Callatis, we find the ancient mole, nearly a mile long, still existing, and nearly as perfect as when it was first built, though, in strange contrast with its former importance, the present village does not possess even a single fishing-boat. A personal inspection of the opposite shore of the bay has failed entirely in discovering any locality that might have been the site of Istria or Istriapolis, said by Pliny to be, with Callatia, "pulcherrimæ urbes." There are, at all events, no existing remains to justify such a description.

The coins themselves may be described as follows:—

Callatia Mœsiæ.—Autonomous.

LYSIMACHUS, KING OF THRACE.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Lysimachus to right, wearing vitta.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. Pallas-Athene, helmeted, seated to left; in right, small figure of Victory; in left, spear. Behind throne, shield; on throne itself, ΚΑΛ. In field, ⊢P. In exergue, winged trident turned to left.

Size, .78. Weight, . *N.*

Callatia Mœsiæ.—Imperial Greek.

GORDIANUS PIUS.

2. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟϹ. ΑΥΓ. Bust of Gordianus to right, laureate drapery on shoulders.

Rev.—ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙΑΝΩΝ. Victory walking to left. In right, wreath; in left, palm-branch. In field to left, E.

Size, 1,1. Æ.

Tomi Mœsiæ.—Autonomous.

3. *Obv.*—Veiled head to right.

Rev.—Two burning torches, between which $\frac{\text{TO}}{\text{MI}}$; below, EMI.

Size, .67. Æ.

Tomi Mœsiæ.—Imperial Greek.

TRAJANUS.

4. *Obv.*— . . . . . ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟϹ . . . . Bust of Trajanus to right, laureate; shoulders draped.

Rev.—A trophy on a square support, on each side, thus :—

. . . . O  MI

N . . [for TOMITΩN]

Size, .77. Æ.

M. AURELIUS.

5. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟϹ. Bust of M. Aurelius to right, laureate; shoulders bare.

Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΝΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΩϹ. Zeus Aetophoros seated to left; in right, eagle; left, spear. In field, to left, Γ.

Size, 1.0. Æ.

6. *Obv.*— . . . ΚΑΙϹΑΡΙ ΒΗΡΩ. Bust of M. Aurelius to right, laureate; shoulders bare.

Rev.—TOMITΩN. Bacchus standing to left; in right, *cantharus;* in left, thyrsus; at his feet, a panther running to left.

Size, .71. Æ.

7. *Obv.* · ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ ΒΗΡ(ω). Youthful bust of M. Aurelius to left; shoulders draped.

Rev.—ΤΟΜ€ΙΤ(ω)Ν. Bacchus standing to left; in right, *cantharus*; in left, thyrsus; at his feet, a small altar.

Size, .72. Æ.

CARACALLA.

8. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝ€ΙΝΟC. Bust of Caracalla to right, laureate; shoulders draped.

Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟΠ. ΠΟΝΤΟΥ. ΤΟΜ€ΩC. Fortuna standing to left; in right, scales; in left, cornucopiæ; in field, to right, Δ.

Size, 1.05. Æ.

9. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. . . ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝ€ΙΝΟC. Bust of Caracalla, laureate, to right; shoulders draped.

Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΠΟΝΤΟΥ. ΤΟΜ€ΩC. Mercury naked standing to left; in right, purse; in left, caduceus and portion of drapery; at his feet, to left, cock; in field to right, Δ.

Size, 1.07. Æ.

PLAUTILLA.

10. *Obv.*—ΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ. ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ. C€. Bust of Plautilla to right; shoulders draped.

Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΠΟΝΤ. ΤΟΜ€ΩC. Fortuna standing to left; in right, spear; in left, cornucopiæ; at her feet, to right, a bull's head (?); in field, to left, Δ.

Size, 1.07. Æ.

GETA.

11. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Π. C€Π. Γ€ΤΑC. ΑΥ. Bust of Géta to right, laureate; shoulders draped.

Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟΠ. ΠΟΝΤΟΥ. ΤΟΜ€ΩC. Nemesis standing to left; in right, scales; in left, stick; at her feet, to right, a wheel.

Size, 1.05. Æ.

12. *Obv.*—A. K. Π. CEΠ. ΓϴTAC. Bust of Geta to right, laureate; shoulders draped.

Rev.—MHTPO. ΠON. TOMϴΩC. Eagle with expanded wings standing to left on a square base, holding wreath in beak; on each side, standard. In the exergue, Δ.

Size, 1.06. Æ.

13. *Obv.*— . . ΓϴTAC. Bust of young Geta to right; shoulders draped.

Rev.—TOMϴITΩN. Bunch of grapes.

Size, 0.7. Æ.

Severus Alexander.

14. *Obv.*—AYT. K. M. AYP. CEYHP. AΛEΞANΔPOC. Bust of Severus Alexander to right, laureate; shoulders bare.

Rev.—MHTPO. ΠONTOY. TOMϴΩC. Zeus, half draped, seated to left; in right, patera; in left, spear. In exergue, Δ.

Size, 1.08. Æ.

Maximinus.

15. *Obv.*—AYT. MAΞIMEINOC. EYCEB. AYT. Bust of Maximinus, laureate, to right; shoulders draped.

Rev.—MHTPO . . TOY. TOMEΩC. Serapis standing to left; on head, modius; in left, *hasta pura*; in right (?); in field to left, Δ.

Size, 1.06. Æ.

Gordianus Pius.

16. *Obv.*—AYT. K. M. ANT. ΓOPΔIANOC. AYT. Bust of Gordianus to right, laureate; shoulders draped.

Rev.—MHTPO. ΠONTOY. TOMϴΩC. Two male half-draped figures seated on the ground to left; above each head, a star; in the field, to left, Δ.

Size, 1,01. Æ.

17. *Obv.*—AYT. K. M. ANT. ΓOPΔIANOC. AYT. Bust of Gordianus Pius to right, laureate; shoulders draped.

Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΠΟΝΤΟΥ. ΤΟΜΕΥ(*sic*). Nemesis standing to right; in right (?); in left, a bag (?); at her feet to left, a wheel; in field, to left, Δ.
Size, 1.07. Æ.

PHILIPPUS I.

18. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Μ. ΙΟΥΛΙ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ. ΑΥΓ. Bust of Philippus I. to right, laureate; shoulders draped.
Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΠΟΝΤΟΥ. ΤΟΜΕ (*sic*) . . . Fortune standing to left; in right, patera; in left, cornucopiæ; in field, to left, Δ.
Size, 1.05. Æ.

TRAJANOPOLIS.—GETA.

19. *Obv.*—Λ. CΕΠΤΙ. ΓΕΤΑΣ. ΑΥ. Unbearded youthful bust of Geta to right; shoulders draped.
Rev.—ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΗC. ΤRΑΙΑΝΗC. Diana Venatrix walking to right; right raised to draw arrow from quiver; in left, bent bow; at her feet, dog.
Size, 1.02. Æ.

Amastris Paphlagoniæ.

M. AURELIUS.

20. *Obv.*— . . . Μ. ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΟΝΙΝΟC. Bust of M. Aurelius to right; shoulders bare.
Rev.—ΑΜΑCΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ. Galley with ten rowers to right.
Size, 1.14. Æ.

The coins themselves are, as a rule, in excellent preservation, but I am not prepared to say that there is any one among them that is absolutely new. I have thought it worth calling your attention to them chiefly from the interest attaching to the place at which they were procured, and because Dr. Cullen had sent me the brief memoir about it from which I have just read to you the most material points.

W. S. W. VAUX.

X.

ROMAN MEDALLIONS AND COINS RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The British Museum has lately acquired from Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent an interesting medallion of Elagabalus (*vide* Cohen, "Médailles Impériales," vol. vii.), which I purpose describing, as well as adding a few words on the history and life of this emperor.

Elagabalus was born at Emesa, in Syria, *circa* A.D. 205, being the son of Julia Soæmias and a patrician, Sextus Varius Marcellus, and was called in the early part of his life Varius Avitus Bassianus. At a very early period he dedicated himself to the worship of the sun-god, Elagabalus, whose mystic rites were celebrated in that town—a worship which seems to have been eventually the cause of his death, on account of the various tortures and secret murders which he perpetrated on those who were unwilling to receive this new deity. Macrinus, who instigated the assassination of Caracalla, and who succeeded him on the throne, had rendered himself unpopular to the soldiery, both on account of his defeat by the Parthian king, Artabanus, who routed his army at Nisibis, and exacted heavy ransom, as well as for the niggardliness of his disposition. Julia Mæsa, grandmother of Elagabalus, seized this opportunity for bribing the soldiery, and at

the same time spread the rumour that Elagabalus was the offspring of Caracalla and Julia Soæmias—a rumour which was so favourably received that the greater part of the army acknowledged and declared him emperor under the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the title borne by his reputed father, Caracalla. Macrinus hastened to Antioch, but was defeated, and compelled to fly to Chalcedon, in Bithynia, where, however, he was betrayed, brought to Cappadocia, and slain by order of the youthful tyrant. Elagabalus ascended the throne A.D. 218, and at once began a life of debauchery and wickedness. Lampridius, an historian who lived in the fourth century, thus begins his life of Elagabalus:—"Vitam Heliogabali Antonini, qui Varius etiam dictus est, nunquam in litteras misissem ne quis fuisse Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas, et Neriones et Vitellios hoc idem habuisset imperium;" and, further on, says, "Sed de nomine hactenus, quamvis sanctum illud Antoninorum nomen polluerit." Elagabalus insulted the Roman people in all that they loved best in their civil and religious life; he desecrated the worship of their gods, and erected to his favourite deity a temple on Mount Palatine, whither he caused the statue of Juno, the Palladium, and the *ancilia* to be transported; doing this, adds Lampridius, that no other god but Heliogabalus should be worshipped in Rome. He also seems to have appointed to high offices the boon companions of his debaucheries, as well as to have introduced his mother among the senate, giving her full powers, and a seat near the consuls.

The great question of the present time, "female suffrage," seems to have been fully discussed, and a female senate to have been established on the Quirinal, which, according to Lampridius, only decided how women were

to dress, to walk, who were to use the carriage, the saddle-horse, or the donkey, and like trifling matters. But the army which had elected Elagabalus[1] emperor did not brook these insults long, and murdered him A.D. 222, after a reign of three years and a few months, distinguished only for wickedness and debauchery.

Obv.—IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Bust, to right, laureated, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ÆQVITAS AVGVSTI. The three Monetæ. *Æ.* Size 9. Weight $308\frac{4}{10}$ grains.

A medallion of Severus Alexander will serve to pursue the history of this period. Severus Alexander, born at Arke, in Phœnicia, son of Julia Mamæa and Gersius Marcianus, was first cousin to Elagabalus, and by him was created Cæsar, A.D. 221, being as different in character as could possibly be. After the death of Elagabalus, Alexander was acknowledged emperor both by the senate and prætorians, and ascended the throne A.D. 222. He at once essayed to eradicate the immoral tendencies prevalent in Rome which had been encouraged by his predecessor, deposed all magistrates appointed by Elagabalus to high positions in the state, and caused the tax levied on courtezans to be applied to the enlargement of public works. In the year A.D. 231 Alexander was compelled to take command of his army against the Persians, who were threatening Mesopotamia and Syria; and, after a great battle, defeated Artaxerxes, forcing him to retire.

The British Museum possesses a small bronze medallion

[1] I should like to call the especial attention of young numismatists to Mr. Cohen's note (vol. iii. 512) on the readings of the title Antoninus on the coins of Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, and the best way of distinguishing these emperors.

of Alexander and Julia Mamæa, purchased at the Thomas sale, which appears to me commemorative of the departure of Alexander against the Persians.

Obv.—IMP. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG. MATER AVG. Busts respectant of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamæa; he, laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; she, draped, and wearing anadema.

Rev.—PONTIF. MAX. TR.P.X. COS. XII. P.P. In *exergue*, PROF. AVG. The emperor, armed, on horseback, moving, to right, preceded by Victory, holding wreath and palm; behind him an armed soldier, in front two standards.

On his return to Rome, Alexander found the German tribes in open revolt, and hastened against them; but having, through the severity of his discipline, enraged some of the disaffected soldiery, he was murdered in his tent, A.D. 235, after a reign of nearly fourteen years.

Another medallion, also purchased from Messrs. Rollin, is silver gilt, and differs in the legend on the obverse from the Vienna medallion, published by Cohen.

Obv.—IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. SEV. ALEXANDER PIVS FELIX AVG. Bust, to right, laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. The three Monetæ, with emblems. *R*, gilt. Size, 10¼ (Mionnet scale). Weight, 558$\frac{4}{10}$ grains.

With the above medallions the British Museum also acquired an unique tremissis of the Emperor Olybrius, who reigned A.D. 472, for four months. This coin not being published in Cohen, I shall describe here.

Obv.—D.N. ANICIVS OLYBRIVS AC. Bust, to right, diademed, wearing paludamentum.

Rev.—SALVS MVNDI. Cross. Exergue, COMOB. *N*. Size, 2. Weight, 22$\frac{7}{10}$ grains.

S. F. CORKRAN.

XI.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SURFACE SOIL, IRONSTONE PITS, DUSTON, NEAR NORTHAMPTON.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 18th, 1869.]

In the baring of the land for the digging of ironstone on the estate of Lady Palmerston, at Duston, a parish immediately west of Northampton (which baring has been carried on for several years), the soil has been found to abound with Roman remains:—cinerary urns, and many human skulls and scattered bones; domestic utensils (in bronze, lead, glass, and Castor, Samian, and other ware); bronze and iron implements, ornaments, and articles of dress; bovine remains, and the bones and teeth of the horse, dog, and pig; and, lastly, *coins*.

Such coins have from time to time been brought to me, up to as late as only last evening, and include:—

Claudius. 2nd brass. *Rev.* Minerva.
Trajanus. Denarius. *Rev.* Peace.
Antoninus Pius. 2nd brass. *Rev.* Wolf and Twins.
Marcus Aurelius. 1st brass. *Rev.* Juno seated.
Marcus Aurelius. 1st brass. *Rev.* Emperor seated, holding a victory.
Faustina Jun. 1st brass. *Rev.* Minerva standing.
Julia Domna. Denarius. *Rev.* "Pietas Publica."

Caracalla. Denarius. *Rev.* "Rector Orbis."

Gallienus. 3rd brass. *Rev.* The sun standing.

Claudius Gothicus. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Virtus Aug."

Quintillus. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Conco. Exer."

Carausius. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Fortuna Aug." "ML."

,, ,, *Rev.* "Salus Aug."

Constantius Chlorus. Follis. *Rev.* "Genio Populi Romani."

Licinius, Sen. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Genio Pop. Rom." "T. F." in the field; "A. T. R." in the exergue.

Constantinus Max. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Beata Tranquillitas." "P. T. R."

,, ,, 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Gloria Exercitus." "P. Const."

,, ,, 3rd brass. *Ob.* "Urbs Roma." *Rev.* Wolf and Twins. "P. L. C."

,, ,, *Ob.* "Constantinopolis." *Rev.* Winged figure on a prow, with spear and shield. "P. L. C." Another with "T. R. S." in exergue.

Crispus. 3rd brass. "Providentiae," "S. T. R.," &c.

Constantinus, Jr. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Gloria," &c. "T. R. P." 2 coins.

,, Small 3rd brass. *Rev.* The same.

Constantius II. Æ. *Rev.* "Votis XX. multis XXX." "LVG."

,, 2nd brass. *Rev.* Large ☧ "Salus Aug. Nostri." "A Ω." "T. R. S."

, 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Fel. Temp. Reparatio." A foot-soldier overcoming a horse-soldier.

,, 3rd brass, very small. *Rev.* Same type.

,, 3rd brass, small. *Rev.* "Victoria Aug." "M" (large) in the field.

Magnentius. Follis. *Rev.* Emperor riding over an enemy, "Gloria," &c.

Valentinianus I. 3rd brass. *Rev.* Figure of Victory. "Securitas Reipublicae." "S. M.," a leaf, and "R. P." in exergue. 2 coins.

Valens. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Securitas," &c. 6 coins, three with "P Con" in the exergue.

Valens. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Gloria," &c. A Roman soldier dragging a captive, and holding the standard bearing the ☧. 2 coins.

Gratianus. 3rd brass. *Rev.* "Gloria Novi Saeculi." Type as Akerman, No. 2. 3 coins, 2 with "P. CON."

Valentinianus II. 3rd brass, very small. *Rev.* "Victoria Augg." "P. CON." in the exergue.

Honorius. *Quinarius.* *Rev.* "Roma Victrix."

Romano-British Minimi, various devices.

Judging from the condition of these coins—those of the time of Septimius Severus being the earliest unworn ones—I conclude that this spot was occupied by Romans perhaps shortly before the reign of that emperor, and that it continued to be so occupied until the Romans abandoned Britain. That it was afterwards occupied by the Romano-British, is shown, not only by the presence of the Minimi, but also by the following curious circumstance:—Three grave-like excavations in the ironstone, immediately beneath the surface-soil, were a short time ago discovered. These had a depth of some four feet in the rock, were arranged in a radiating position, and had a flooring covered with ashes, among which some burnt stones were found, and a nest of Romano-British Minimi. The perfect coins among these were secured by Lady Palmerston's agent, the fragments produced being left as my share.

But I have not been without my revenge. A small brass coin, upon the receipt of sixpence by the finder, was handed over to me upon the spot; which coin, although not in bright and shining condition, is not unworthy of regard, inasmuch as it is an inscribed Cunobeline, and of the type Evans, Plate XI., No. 5.

And I have had other sources of solace. Among them,

the produced head in bronze, nicely patinated, and apparently once one of the handles of a large bronze vessel. It was locally associated with the follis of Constantius Chlorus, already described; but, considering that the use for which it was designed would not require the very highest art of its period, I would suggest that it might probably belong to the time of an earlier emperor, and, indeed, I have little doubt (and my impression has been confirmed by gentlemen whose opinions are of greater weight than mine) that it is a bust of the Emperor Lucius Verus.

S. Sharp.

XII.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON THE OLD ENGLISH COINAGE.

The prejudice against the very idea of an Anglo-Saxon coinage of gold, which prevailed during the early years of the Numismatic Chronicle, has long since yielded to the stern logic of a gradual accumulation of facts. With this prejudice I never sympathized. Whilst the Pembroke collection was still inaccessible, I was convinced that the solidus, (or rather mancus), which Dr. Pegge published about a century ago, and which he assigned to Wigmund, son of Wiglaf, of Mercia, must be genuine, and must belong to the Archbishop of that name, of York; and the discovery of an undoubtedly genuine gold coin of Edward the Confessor raised expectations, that time would reveal other links of a chain of which these seemed to be extremities. These expectations have been more than gratified; though many links are still wanting, the first is now found to rest on the very commencement of Anglo-Saxon history, as the last does on the eve of Norman conquest.

In the following pages I propose to attempt an arrangement of the series, confining myself to particular notice only of those pieces which present distinct and intelligible

legends; and premising the remark, that, just as in the contemporary coinage of silver (the sceattas), these are very few compared with the whole number of those which may fairly be presumed to be of English origin.

1. *Obv.*—Bust to the right; legend in runes, ANIWULUFU, and in Roman letters, +CLIO.

   Rev.—Two figures holding a ring between them, their disengaged hands uplifted, and their faces turned upwards; legend, +ɧENAEISI. Weight, 20·3 grains. Pl. V., fig. 1.

This is a triens, or third of a mancus, in the British Museum. Its type is not a mere imitation of a Roman coin, but a barbaric design, as a comparison of the gesture of the figures on the reverse with those on some northern bracteates (Stephens, p. 523, &c.), sufficiently shows; and there cannot be a doubt but that the subject is historical—a representation of two chieftains swearing an oath on the "holy ring." Their names must be looked for in the legends. Although the eighth rune has but one branch, I have no hesitation in regarding it as intended for F, and in reading the name *Aniwulufu*, an early form of the familiar *Eanwulf*. It seems evident that this name was engraved on the die first, and that the Roman letters were added by a change of intention. I read therefore *Clio* continuously, and believe it is an epithet = *gliw*, "wise." The name on the reverse I have no doubt is intended for *Henagisi* (ᚼ for E, as in many other instances, the workman, perhaps, not being well acquainted with the alphabet he was using).[1] The fulness of vowels which these

[1] It may be observed that, whilst the Latin chroniclers invariably write the name of Hengest with a final *t*, the Geographer of Ravenna (Venantius Fortunatus), in the seventh century, gives the form, *Anschis;* Layamon (in the earlier

names, and one to be noticed immediately, present, is a mark of early antiquity. So also is the termination in a vowel, of words which, in later times, ended in a consonant.

The chieftains, then, whose alliance this piece was intended to commemorate, were Aniwuluf and Henagis; and when we recall the facts of the history of Hengest, —how, from A.D. 429 to 435, he was receiving reinforcements from the Continent, to assist him in his struggle with Ambrosius and Vortimer; how, after his expulsion from Britain, and his year of exile (which the name of Haengest, near the coast of Normandy, suggests may have been partly spent in that district), he returned with a fresh force of auxiliaries; and the fact that Goths were associated with Jutes in the conquest of Britain; it is interesting to learn from Idatius, that one of the chieftains who led the Teutonic tribes in their persevering invasions of the Roman provinces at this eventful period, was a Goth, named Anaolf. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Aetius, near Arles, in A.D. 430.[2]

In the lists of the ancestry of those who ruled the several kingdoms of Saxons and Angles, in the sixth and following centuries, our chroniclers have by no means preserved the names of all who took part in the great struggle, and founded principalities or kingdoms. So

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version), *Hænges* and *Henges*, as well as *Hængest;* and Gaimar uniformly *Henges* and *Hengis*.

2 "Oslac Gothus erat natione, ortus enim erat de Gothis et Jutis, de semine scilicet Stuf et Wihtzur."

Asser. de Gestis Alfredi.

Stuf and Wightgar, nephews (probably by a sister) of Cerdic, colonized Wiht; and the last thirty years' researches in the cemeteries have clearly established the fact that the early Teutonic colonists, or conquerors, of Wiht and Kent, were of one race.

Henry of Huntingdon[3] expressly assures us. From other sources I have elsewhere endeavoured to recover the names of some chieftains, regarding whom the chronicles are silent, and I think that the names of others are preserved on the coins which I proceed to notice.

2. *Obv.*—Bust to the right, and blundered legend copied from a coin of Honorius.

Rev.—Emperor holding labarum in his right hand, and Victory in his left, trampling on a prostrate enemy; legend in runes, SCANOMODU, and other letters, meaningless. Weight, 67·1 grains. Pl. V., fig. 2.

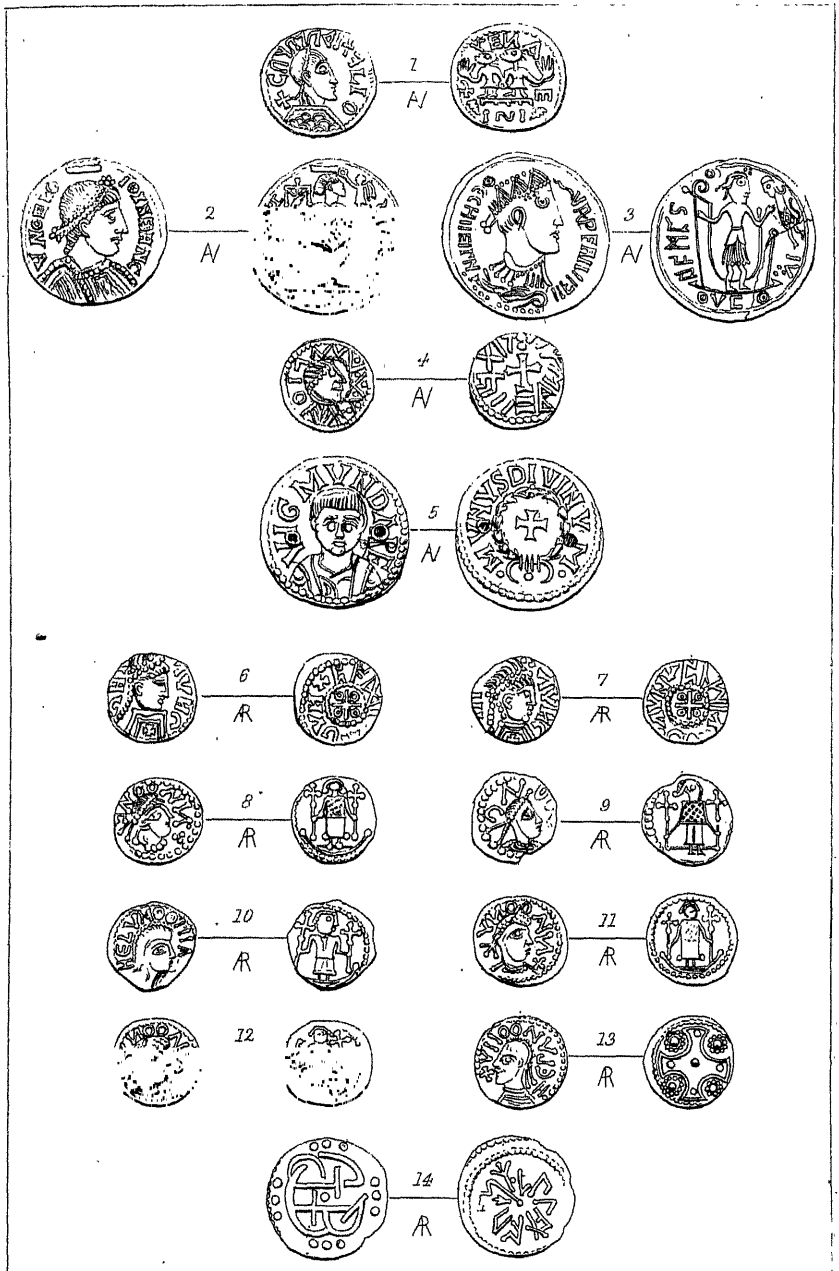
This interesting piece, already known to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle, is undoubtedly a mancus. Its date, if not of the fifth century, as is most probable, must be early in the sixth. There can be no difficulty whatever in recognising in the runes the name of a man, and as names compounded with *Scan* are exceedingly rare, it is not improbable that Scanomod settled in Yorkshire, and left his name to Scammonden, near Halifax.

3. *Obv.*—Bust to the right, and legend imitated from a coin of Theodosius.

Rev.—A figure standing, turned to the right, with arms outstretched, before him a smaller figure; legend, HAMAA, in runes, and other letters, meaningless. Pl. V., fig. 3.

This also is a mancus. It is preserved in the museum of the Historical Society, Leeuwarden, has been published by M. Dirks ("Monnaies Anciennes trouvées en

[3] "Eâ tempestate venerunt multi et sæpe de Germaniâ, et occupaverunt East Angle et Merce, sed necdum sub uno rege redacta erant. Plures autem proceres certatim regiones occupabant, unde innumerabilia bella fiebant; proceres vero, quia multi erant, nomine carent."



T. J. Lees

OLD ENGLISH COINS.

Frise") Councillor Thomsen ("Atlas de l'Archéologie du Nord"), and Professor Stephens ("Old Northern Runic Monuments"). It was found in a grave near Harlingen, in Friesland. The reverse type gives the general idea of imitation from a Roman coin, but on closer inspection we see that it is thoroughly barbaric in detail. The name, which elsewhere I have read *Hama*, I now read *Hamaa*, regarding the character which follows, the second *a*, as the twelfth rune of the Wadstena futhorc, the value of which (to my mind) was certainly an *a*, though not so broad in sound as the twenty-fifth, *ác*. The monuments which Professor Stephens has collected afford several instances of names ending in *aa*, which later would be written with *a* simply. In the "Anglo-Saxon Sagas" I have given my reasons for believing that Hama, who is named in the "Traveller's Song," and in Beowulf, was a Mercian prince, who lived in the earlier part of the sixth century. From these sources we learn that he had been the friend, but afterwards incurred the anger, of Eormanric (King of Kent, A.D. 511—560); and if we remark that the name of the place, where this piece was found, commemorates the Herelingas, who also were victims of Eormanric's vengeance, it seems by no means improbable that it belongs really to him, and that they who gave name to Harlingen were fugitives from England, in the reign of Eormanric, and carried it with them to Friesland.

4. *Obv.*—Bust to the right, head surrounded by a beaded circle; legend, unmeaning letters, ΟΙΑΛ, continued by a succession of lines in zigzag, and dots; the die-sinker apparently tired of forming letters he did not understand.

Rev.—A cross on three steps; legend in runes, BEAU: TIGO. Pl. V., fig. 4.

Of these letters one only is doubtful—the fourth. I had thought it might have been R, but as the second stroke is not inclined to the first, I now think it can only be U. I take B as standing for F, (as on some of the coins of Ælfred), and read *Feau tigo*, "ten moneys." *Fea* is a "fee," "money," and of the plural in *u*, we have many examples in the Durham ritual, and the ancient glosses of the Psalter of St. Augustine; and this old word for "ten," lost in our branch of Teutonic speech, is preserved in the Gothic *tigus*. The unit, of course, is the penny. The gold penny of Henry III., weighing 45·2 grains, and current for twenty pence, would require the mancus, value thirty pence, to weigh 67·8 grains; and the triens, which should weigh 22·6 grains, would be worth ten pence. The fact that these coins are usually one or two grains short of these weights may be accounted for by the wear of circulation. This piece, found at Eastleach Turville, in Gloucestershire, but on the borders of Oxfordshire, illustrates another, of the same workmanship and type, found in the latter county at Dorchester, and figured in the Num. Chron., vol. iv. p. 31.

5. *Obv.*—Bust to the right; legend, XCHUU—.
Rev.—Cross on two steps; legend, BENU + TIDI.

The interpretation of this legend always baffled me; I could think of nothing better than reversing the latter half, and reading it doubtfully *Benidit* for *Benedict*, however unlikely it was that such a name should be written in runes. It is now clear that the third rune and the seventh are blunders for the corresponding runes on 4, which they closely resemble; the top of the last is cut off by the edge of the coin.

6. I claim for England the gold coin found in St. Martin's Churchyard, Canterbury, published by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in the Num. Chron., vol. vii. p. 187, and by him assigned to Eupardus, a bishop of Autun, in the sixth century. My friend sent me an impression of it, immediately after its discovery, and I never doubted its English origin, although I could find no name of a bishop, recorded in history, of the age to which it certainly belongs, to claim it. The grounds of my conviction were:—

a. A certain peculiarity of workmanship which distinguishes the English from the French coins of the period.

b. The arrangement of the legend, such as it is, on the reverse.

Those who are familiar with our sceatta series must have remarked a sort of duplication of the legend, to right and left, from a central letter, or group of letters, on several types. Besides other instances, in which these legends are probably, or certainly, without meaning, such as the obverse of the gold coin in Num. Chron., vol. iv. p. 31, 1, and the reverse of another, vol. vii. p. 187, 3, I would call attention to the rather common sceattas, which Mr. Hawkins, in an early number of the Numismatic Journal, assigned to a King of Northumbria. On these coins, obverse and reverse, from a central ꟻVA or ꟻ, the legend to right and left is HVAT; and, if this be the name of a king, it can only be that of a king of the South Saxons, in the eighth century, known to us only under the Latinized form, Wattus. It would, perhaps, be scarcely safe to assign them to him, for it is impossible to explain in the same way the similarly arranged legends on other coins: and yet it is so evidently the result of design, that

I can suggest nothing more probable. I know of no instance of this peculiarity on coins which are certainly French.

It appears remarkably on the reverse of the coin before us. Above the cross are two large A's, then ⊲INIVV, right and left, meeting in an Λ beneath the cross. The workmanship is so neat that I cannot imagine these letters to be meaningless, though I confess my inability to interpret them.

The legend on the obverse I should have had no hesitation in reading had I been acquainted, at the time of the discovery of this coin, with the monumental palæography of France. The first letter is not a cross, as we then read it, but L, of a form which occurs on monuments at Mainz and Ebersheim, and others at Besançon, St. Julien en Quint (A.D. 537), and Guillerand (A.D. 600). The second has been thought to be a badly formed E, but it is really a form of Y, which we observe on a Burgundian brooch found near Maçon, in the name DAN⊦E⊀, *Danyel* (see also "Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique," vol. ii. Pl. xx., 11). The fourth is P, which I regard as a blundered D, and with this correction I read the whole, LYUDARDUS EPiscopuS. Here, then, we have the name of Liudhard, who accompanied Queen Bertha to Kent, and officiated as her chaplain in the church of St. Martin, in the cemetery belonging to which this coin and its companions were found. In module it is intermediate between the triens and the mancus, and I imagine its current value was two-thirds of the latter, or twenty pence.

7. The triens with the legends EVSEBII MONITA, DOROVERNIS CIVITAS (communicated to the Numismatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 232, and the subject of

a communication of my own to the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iv. p. 120), belongs probably to the same time as the above. I considered it (in 1841) the work of some artist introduced into this country by St. Augustine; but as he came from Italy, and the idea of this piece is French, I now think its origin due to French rather than to Italian influence, and would refer it to the time of Bishop Liudhard, before the coming of St. Augustine.

In the hoard of gold coins, all trientes, found by Mr. Lefroy on Bagshot Heath, in 1828, there were a few pieces, of which the description is:—

8. *Obv.*—Full-faced bust.
Rev.—A cross issuing from a globe; legend, LONDVNI. Weight, 20 to 20·2 grains.

In idea, though not in execution, these pieces resemble some sceattas. There can be no doubt but that they were minted in London, *i.e.*, in the kingdom of the East Saxons.

This hoard contained 16 French coins, 10 blundered imitations of Roman coins (the latest, of Leo A.D. 457), and about 74 others, of which three were blank, merely prepared for the die. As in every hoard of ancient coins, the bulk is generally found to belong to the country in which it is discovered, so I believe that these are English, and that, with one or two exceptions, they represent a coinage of gold in the kingdom of the South Saxons early in the seventh century. For the boundary of the counties of Surrey and Hampshire, which belonged to the South Saxons and West Saxons respectively, passed through the parish of Crondale, in which they were found; and amongst the French coins were some which are supposed to have been minted by St. Eligius (A.D. 628 *et*

seq.). Their weights, like those of the contemporary French trientes, vary from 19·6 to 21·9 grains. Two only call for especial notice.

9. *Obv.*—Bust to the left, a cross before it.
   Rev.—A cross on two steps, between two T's; legend, SAIT EIAIA. Weight, 20·6 grains.

In execution this piece resembles the sceattas, and it seems to be connected by its reverse type with the Dorchester and Eastleach coins. It may, therefore, belong to the kingdom of Mercia. Its legend I cannot explain.

10. *Obv.*—Bust to the right, two crosses before it; legend, AVDVARIÐ REGES (the sixth letter may be L).
   Rev.—A cross issuing from a globe; legend, MEASSGEN VS, and other indistinct letters. Weight, 19·6 grains. The reverse type connects this piece with those of London above noticed.

The name (which, later, would have been *Eadward* or *Eadwald*) I take to be that of a King of the South Saxons, one of the predecessors of *Æthilwealh;* and as *Meassgenus* (the moneyer's name) has certainly a Celtic termination, (cf. *Bodvogenus, Camulogenus, Litogenus,* &c.), I think it probable that this coin owes its origin to the influence of the Scottish monks, Dicul and his brethren, at Bosham, who unsuccessfully attempted the conversion and civilisation of the South Saxons, before the advent of St. Wilfrith.

11. I cannot think that the gold dinar, with the name of Offa, was ever meant for circulation in England; nor that a coinage such as this could have been devised for the purpose of payment of the tribute promised to Rome. It could only have been intended for purposes of commerce with Spain, Africa, or the East; or for the use of

pilgrims to the Holy Land.[4] The latter I think more probable; and Rome, where it was found, was in the route of all pilgrims.

12. *Obv.*—Bust, full-faced; legend, VIGMVND AREP.
Rev.—A cross within a wreath; legend, MVNVS DIVINVM. Weight, 68 grains. Pl. V., 5.

This fine specimen of the mancus, an imitation of the solidus of Louis le Debonnaire, has hitherto been published only in the work of Dr. Pegge above alluded to. Wigmund was Archbishop of York, A.D. 831 to 854.

13. The series closes with the beautiful gold coin of Eadward the Confessor, discovered in the course of the demolition of the old church of St. Clement, Worcester.

In a communication to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, about fifteen years ago, in a paper read before the Philosophical and Literary Society of Leeds, and in the "Conquest of Britain," I have proposed the appropriation of certain sceattas with runic legends. They belong for most part to the kingdom of Mercia.

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[4] It appears, incidentally from the life of St. Willibald, that pilgrimages to the Holy Land were frequent in the eighth century. He and his companions were arrested at Emesa, and carried before a magistrate, who inquired the object of their journey, and, when they explained it to him, said, "*I have often seen men of the parts of the earth whence these come, travelling hither;* they seek no harm, but desire to fulfil their law." This was about A.D. 722. The many years of war which ensued between the Arabs and the Greeks, did not put a stop altogether to these pilgrimages, and when peace was restored under Harûn er Rashid (A.D. 786), they became more frequent than ever; but Offa had been dead seven years before the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the city of Jerusalem were sent to Charlemagne, who founded a hospital there for the reception of pilgrims.

1. *Obv.*—A rude head to the right; before it the runes, WB—; behind, M, probably part of the letter A.

Rev.—A square, beaded, enclosing $\overset{\text{T T}}{\text{O}}_{\text{L L}}$; on each side a cross.

This piece was first published by my friend Mr. Lindsay in 1860, and by him timidly, but, I believe, correctly, assigned to Wibba, King of Mercia.

This king's name is given Wybba, in MS. G of the English Chronicle; Wibba, in most MSS. of Florence of Worcester; Wibba, Wipha, and Wippa, in Henry of Huntingdon. Nennius, all other MSS. of the Chronicle, and one MS. of Florence, have *P* initial instead of *W*.

2. Similar type, obverse and reverse, but the runes on the obverse are ÆPA or EPA.

The Annals of Cambria tell us that Eoba, King of the Mercians, fell in the battle of Cocboy (*i.e.*, Maserfelth), A.D. 642. MS. G of the English Chronicle names him Eapa, Florence, Eoppa (in one place), Henry, Epa; all other authorities Eawa, Eowa, Eoua. He was the son of Wibba, and brother of Penda.

I still think that these coins, which are amongst the most common of the sceatta series, must belong to him; indeed, the attribution is strengthened by the discovery of one which seems to bear his father's name, noticed above.

Mr. Head has cited a passage from the "Eulogium Historiarum,"—to the effect that, after Penda was slain, Cadwallo gave the kingdom to Wlfred his son; that the latter associated with himself Eba and Edbert, leaders of the Mercians, and rebelled against Oswi; but that peace was restored through the influence of Cadwallo. This statement is completely at variance with that of Ven.

Bæda, that Oswiu ruled the kingdom of Penda for three years after his death, that he made Penda's son, Peada (who was slain within a year), King of the South Mercians, and that Immin, Eafha, and Eadbercht rebelled against him, and raised to the throne another son of Penda, Wulfhere, whom they had kept in secret, A.D. 658; as well as with that of Nennius, that Catguollaun, King of Gwynedd, fell in the battle of Catscaul (*i.e.*, Hefenfelth, A.D. 635), and that another king of Gwynedd, Catgabail, was the only one of the allies of Penda who escaped from the battle in which Penda was overthrown. It is clear that these chieftains exercised whatever authority they possessed under Oswiu; and if it had been royal, they would have taken the title of king after their successful rebellion. They were, however, no more than ealdormen, loyal to the family of their old kings, and protecting in secret the heir to the throne from the enmity of the conqueror, who, it must be feared, was an accomplice in the treason of his daughter, and the murder of his son-in-law, Wulfhere's elder brother, Peada. I cannot, therefore, admit the claim to these coins which Mr. Head is disposed to make on behalf of Eafha (Eaba or Eabba).

3. Similar type, obverse and reverse, but the runes are ELI.

If my appropriation of the above be correct, these coins must present the name of one of the elder brothers of Penda.[5]

4. A coin of similar type, but with the runes, —SWIGUARD.

This piece was published by Mr. Lindsay in his "Illustrations of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage," without the S,

5 "Puppa habuit xii. filios, quorum, duo notiores sunt quam alii, id est Penda et Eua."—*Nennius.*

however. I applied to him for an impression, and at once perceived the S, which he had overlooked, before the W. I called his attention to it, and he acknowledged that it was there. It was evident, then, that other letters, which the surface of the coin was too narrow to embrace, must have preceded this on the die, and I ventured to supply AU, on the authority of an inscription, in which I read the name of Oswiu's cotemporary AUSWINI; but as farther examination of the monument appears to leave no doubt that the second letter is N, I would now supply the reading of this coin-legend, ANSWIGU ARD, "Answigu, chief." I attribute it to Oswiu, King of Northumbria; but I think it probable that it was minted in Mercia during the interval between the death of Penda and the accession of Wulfhere.

But for the appearance of the S, I should have read the name *Wiguard*, and supposed it possible that this might be the name of one of the nine elder brothers of Penda.

5. The coin in the Hunterian Museum, with the legend WIGUD, is certainly an example of degradation of type. It wants two letters before D, and was probably copied from an example in which, on account of deficiency of surface of the metal, the first letters did not appear.

If these attributions be generally accepted, these little coins, rude as they are, will be admitted to possess a certain historic value inasmuch as they serve to determine the orthography of two names of Mercian princes, Wibba and Epa, which the confusion of the runic *wen* with the Latin P, has hitherto rendered uncertain.

6. *Obv.*—Helmeted bust to the right; before it the letters CNZIO, others behind.

Rev.—A square compartment, beaded, containing the letters $\overset{T\ T}{\underset{X\ X}{O}}$; on one side the legend, in runes, PADA; on the others, Roman letters.

This type was first published in MM. Fougères and Combrouse's "Monnaies de France," vol. iii. Pl. xxviii., 1. Mr. Head, in the Num. Chron., vol. viii., has lately published another, from the British Museum cabinets, not so well struck on the reverse, nor presenting so perfect a legend.

7. *Obv.*—Similar bust and legend.

Rev.—An oblong beaded compartment, containing the runes, PADA, very neatly formed; on one side the letters AST, and traces of the same on the other.

This coin, in the British Museum, is probably unique.

8. *Obv.*—Bust of a different character; before it the letters, ONVA; behind, others, apparently the same.

Rev.—A beaded circle, containing a cross; in each quarter a ray from the centre, terminating in an annulet; legend in runes, PADA, and in Roman letters, AVIIVꝏA.

Mr. Head first published this type from a specimen in the British Museum. Two fine examples have since been published by Mr. Brent in the "Archæologia Cantiana," found by him in one of the graves of the cemetery at Sarr (Pl. V., figs. 6, 7). They are not so centrally struck as the Museum coin, and do not give the runes so clearly, but they are in sharper preservation, and show distinctly the rays connecting the annulets with the centre of the cross, which are only faintly observable on the Museum specimen, and do not appear in Mr. Head's plate. On one of these the P is imperfectly formed, and the third

rune seems to be ᚻ, which occurs in no known futhore; but, I think, we have here an instance of degradation of type, as in the Dorchester triens, as compared with that from Eastleach Turville.

9. *Obv.*—Bust of a still different form; traces of the same letters as on 8.

Rev.—The runes PADA between two beaded lines, enclosed in a beaded circle, around which are traces of the same letters as on 7. ("Monnaies de France," vol. iv. Pl. cliv., 4.)

On all these coins, with the exception above mentioned, the runic legend is clearly PADA. The second rune is *ác* (not *æsc*, which I once read in the imperfect design in the "Monnaies de France"). According to the spelling of this name in Ven. Bæda, and his followers, it should be *ear;* but the sound of the runes *ác* and *ear* was probably not very different, if we may judge from the modern forms of the words in which they occur. The *á* in *ác* is represented in our modern language by the sound of long *o*, as in *ác*, "oak," *bán*, "bone," *dá*, "doe;" the *ea* in *ear* has the same sound in such words as *eald*, "old," *ceald*, "cold," and nearly the same in others: *eal*, "all" and "awl," *feallan*, to "fall." *Páda*, therefore, will well represent *Peada;* and I do not now entertain a doubt of the correctness of my attribution of these coins to the eldest son of Penda; made King of the Middle Angles (in Mercia, north of the Trent), by his father, some time before A.D. 653; and of the South Angles (south of the Trent), by Oswiu, on the death of his father, A.D. 655; and foully betrayed to death on Easterday, A.D. 656, by Alhflæd, daughter of Oswiu.

I have been struck by a remark of Mr. Brent's in his "Account of Researches in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr,"

p. 25: "The common circular fibula, with a central boss and radiating bands of garnets, was very probably intended for a model in miniature of the Saxon shield, which we may suppose to have been painted, or otherwise ornamented, to complete the resemblance, as Tacitus describes the shields of the German tribes." This is a note to a description of a shield, which had iron bands radiating from the boss to the rim (the omission of an illustration of which in Mr. Brent's admirable notice is much to be regretted); and examples might have been cited, such as the shield, with radiating silver ornaments, found some years ago at Caenby, in Lincolnshire; and another figured in Professor Stephens' great work, p. 293. I am satisfied that this theory is correct; and I believe that the device, which first occurs on some Gaulish coins, and afterwards on those of our forefathers, a circle containing some ornamental figures, is also intended to represent a shield. In this view it is interesting to compare the type of the sceattas above (8) with that of the fibula found at Wingham, figured in the Num. Chron., vol. vi. p. 182. Moreover—although I know of no instance of the occurrence of other than round shields in Teutonic graves—the remarkable correspondence between the device of the shield, carried by the gladiator, on the Colchester urn, figured in "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. iv. Pl. xxi.; and the square on these Mercian coins, satisfies me that this also represents a shield. What the appendage to the upper side may be, on the types 6 and 7 above, I cannot imagine, unless it be a drapery, such as is attached to one of the shields on the triumphal arch, at Orange ("Coll. Ant.," vol. vi. Pl. i.). It is only on 6 that the resemblance to the standard, or altar, on Roman coins, appears, and when this is compared with other varieties, probably

earlier, I think the resemblance must be admitted to be accidental.

10. ÆÐILIRÆD, in two lines, boustrophedon.
11. ÆÐILRÆD, ,, ,,
12. ÆNILIRÆD, ,, ,,
Num. Chron., N. S., vol. viii. Pl. iv.

My attribution of these coins to Æthelræd, of Mercia, I believe, is admitted to be correct. In each of these specimens an example of degradation of type is observable; on 11 only have we the R correctly; on all the D is imperfect; on 11 N is substituted for Ð.

13. SEXƀVRVƀO. I quote from memory this legend on a silver coin, of which I once saw an engraving in an old volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The archaic form of the name, such as no forger in those days would have dreamed of, convinces me that the coin is genuine; and I mention it here in the hope that some young and zealous numismatist may be prompted to institute inquiries as to its present place of abode.

That it belongs to Sexburg, who ruled the West Saxons for a year after the death of her husband, Cænwalh, A.D. 672, is certain.

14. Many years have elapsed since I expressed an opinion that the sceatta figured in Ruding, Pl. xxvi., with the obverse type of two faces fronting one another, and a tall cross between them, was minted by the authority of two kings, allied or co-regnant. A variety of this type, with the letters $\overline{\text{RM}}$ united, on the reverse, figured in MM. Fougères and Combrouse's work, excited my curiosity, but baffled my ingenuity, down to the time of the abandonment of my scheme for the publication of a work on the Anglo-Saxon coinage; I could find neither king nor

mint, of whose name these letters could be supposed the monogram. But, lately, the idea occurred to me, as two kings appear on the obverse, may not these letters be the initials of their names? If this be the case, there can be no difficulty in identifying the two.

Our history presents to us, in the East Anglian line, Rædwald, and his son, Rægenhere, slain A.D. 617; in the Kentish, Hlothhere's son, Richard, who died A.D. 718; in the Mercian, Penda's sons, Merewald and Mearchelm, and Merewald's son, Merewine; and in the West Saxon, Mul, slain A.D. 687. The East Anglian princes are out of the question; Merewald, who married a Kentish princess, appears to have died before A.D. 673; his son died in infancy, and of his brother we know but the name. We are limited to Richard and Mul. Were they allied or co-regnant? This seems very probable. Of the history of Richard all that we know is this: that he was the son of Hlothhere, that he was a king, that he was married to a West-Saxon lady, that he was living in Wessex thirty years after the death of his father, and that he died at Lucca, whilst on pilgrimage, A.D. 718.

Lappenberg speaks of Hlothhere, as if he had usurped the throne of Kent to the prejudice of his nephew, Eadric; but the history of the Angles shows that it was by no means unusual for a brother to succeed. In Kent, Æthelberht succeeded his brother, Eadberht, and, after his death, Eadberht's son, Eardwulf, came to the throne. In Mercia, Wulfhere died, A.D. 675, leaving two sons; his successors were his brother, Æthelræd, twenty-nine years; his son, Cænred, five years; Æthelred's son, Ceolred, seven years. In Northumbria, Oswald left a son, Æthelwald, but was succeeded by his brother, Oswiu. In Wessex, Cœnwealh succeeded his father, Cynegils, though

his elder brother's son, Cuthred, was living. In the case before us, Hlothhere and his nephew were certainly for some time co-regnant. After a reign of twelve years, Hlothhere was defeated in a battle with the South Saxons, who had espoused the cause of Eadric, and died of his wounds, A.D. 685, February 6. This, of course, involved a blood-feud between the heir of Hlothhere and his murderers. How was it avenged? The heir of Hlothhere is not named; but immediately after his death Ceadwalla, not yet king, attacked and slew Æthelwealh, the King of the South Saxons, but was, in his turn, defeated by Berhthun and Andhun, that king's successors. Soon after this, on the retirement of Centwine, Ceadwalla became King of the West Saxons, resumed hostilities with the South Saxons, defeated and slew Berhthun, then carried his arms into Kent, and slew Eadric, A.D. 686. Surely this was the avenging of the death of Hlothhere, an enterprise commenced, but frustrated by his defeat, the year before.

Ceadwalla's brother, Mul, was associated with him in this Kentish expedition. In the year following Mul and twelve *gesithas* were burned by the Kentish men, but this outrage was promptly avenged by Ceadwalla. A.D. 691, Wihtræd and Swæbhard, brothers of Eadric, became kings of Kent; but their title must have been disputed, and they must have been engaged in hostilities with Wessex; for, under A.D. 694, it is recorded that the Kentish men made compensation for the murder of Mul, and that Wihtræd succeeded to the kingdom. This can only mean that from that year he was recognised as king by Ine.

Who occupied the throne of Kent from the death of Eadric to the accession of Wihtræd? I cannot doubt but

that it was Richard. When his father's death was avenged by the slaughter of Eadric, he would naturally be chosen to fill the vacant throne. For a year he and Mul were probably confederate, and for four years after the death of Mul, supported by Ceadwalla, he reigned alone. In this sense I understand Ven. Bæda's "regnum illud per aliquod temporis spatium reges dubii vel externi disperdiderunt, donec legitimus rex Witred, id est filius Ecgberti, confortatus in regno, religione simul et industriâ gentem suam ab extrancâ invasione liberaret." They who supplied this information to him were subjects of Wihtræd and his son Eadberht; and as they did not recognise the claims of the heir of Hlothhere, "dubius" would apply to him, as "extranei" did to Mul, Ceadwalla, and Ine. I think, then, these sceattas may very probably be regarded as monuments of the alliance or co-regnancy of Richard and Mul, and as belonging to the years 686—7.

15. *Obv.*—Bust to the right; before it, IN+.
Rev.—A man standing, holding a long cross in each hand.

I cannot recollect in what collection this coin is or was. I had an impression of it when every collection of importance in England (but one) was kindly laid open to me by its owner, and I have always regarded it as belonging to the illustrious West Saxon Ine, A.D. 688 to 725 (or 728).

16. Same type, obverse and reverse, ⊐NOONN+.
17. ,, ,, ⌒NOONN+.
18. ,, ,, VNOONN+.
19. ,, ,, ELVNOOIIII.
20. *Obv.*—Same type and legend as 18.
Rev.—King seated on his throne, to the right, holding a long cross sceptre in his right hand, looking to a hawk, which rests on his left

21. *Obv.*—Bust to the left, ELVNOOIIV+.

Rev.—Four circular devices enclosed in a beaded circle.

On all these coins the legend seems intended for NOONN; on four of them single letters, (in each case different, as if the marks of different moneyers), on two the letters ELV precede. The four I assign to Ine's kinsman Nunna, who is mentioned in the chronicles as associated with him in his Welsh campaign, A.D. 710, and who appears from charters to have been King of the South Saxons. I believe the other two must follow the same destination. Pl. V., figs. 8 to 13.

The arrangement of the ELV and other letters, before the name NOONN on these coins, reminds me of the LULEÐILBERHT on that which long ago I assigned to Æthilberht of East Anglia. To this king I also assign the following, because I believe it presents the same moneyer's name, and because the monogram seems to give the first two letters of the king's name.

22. *Obv.*—Monogram.

Rev.—LVL ON AVSA. The first L inverted. Pl. V., fig. 14.

This coin was found with others of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis le Debonnaire at Wyk, near Utrecht. The mint may have been Ousden, near Bury St. Edmund's, now an obscure village.

Professor Stephens sees in the monogram the name of Ecgberht. I cannot; and whilst I do not remember a runic legend on any piece of West Saxon mintage, we have the name of the same moneyer on another coin of Æthilberht, and several runes on the coins of his predecessor, Benna.

I noticed, in the Num. Chron. iv. 121, a penny of Ecgberht, with the reverse legend SCS ANDREAS,

which I then supposed a unique relic of the ecclesiastical mint of Rochester. A subsequent examination of the British Museum cabinets enabled me to detect another, a fragment, unfortunately, with the same legend, but of a different type. As the letter A occurs on the reverse of the former, I think that this letter on other coins of Ecgberht and Æthelwulf may be the initial of *Andreas*, and indicate that they also were minted at Rochester.

I am not aware whether the unique coin of Ceolwulf, once in the cabinet of the late Mr. Cuff, with the reverse legend DOROBREBIA CIBITAS, has ever been correctly assigned, as it ought to be, to Rochester. The existence of this coin suggests a doubt whether the coins of Ecgberht and Æthelwulf, with the monogram of DOROBC, or the letters DORIBI, belong to *Dorovernis* or *Dorobrevis*, Canterbury or Rochester.

In connection with the *Scs Andreas* coins, the communication by Sig. F. Calori Cesis at a meeting of the Numismatic Society[6] of a coin of Offa, with the legend PETRVS, interested me very much. A.D. 785, Offa caused the province of Canterbury to be divided, and established an Archiepispocal See at Lichfield, with six suffragans, leaving four to Canterbury. The privilege of coining money, which belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury, would of course be conferred on the Archbishop of Lichfield, and as St. Peter is the patron of the Cathedral of Lichfield, this unique penny must be regarded as having issued from the Archbishop's mint.

I will conclude with a few remarks on the type of the Irish half-pennies of King John. The remark (Num. Chron. ii., 187), "That the various devices which occur

[6] Feb. 18, 1864.

on his money were typical of the office of St. John the Baptist," ought to have been restricted to the crescent moon and star, on the reverse of his coinage after he became king. It seemed clear that one motive actuated the designers of the obverse type of the *Dominus* half-pennies, and that of the Amiens tokens; and the publication by Dr. A. Smith of a half-penny, with the legend CAPUT IOHANNIS, has placed this beyond a doubt. The face on these half-pennies is the face of St. John the Baptist, not that of John Lord of Ireland. This may be considered as established.

The device of the Amiens signs is also certainly intended to represent the relic, which has been venerated in the Cathedral of that city, from A.D. 1205 to our own time. This is not a whole head, but simply a face, wanting the lower jaw; the forehead covered with a silver plate on which is depicted a bust of the saint, holding a cross in his left hand, and raising his right to bless, with an abbreviation of the name and title, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC; above (as it were appearing from heaven), is the head of Our Lord with $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$. A coronet of jewels encircles the brow, and the whole relic is set in a circle of jewels, two features which recall the coronet and the circular frame on the half-pennies so forcibly, that the conclusion, that this relic was the prototype of their device, as it certainly was of that of the tokens, would be irresistible, but for a chronological difficulty. The limits of the coinage of these half-pennies are A.D. 1185 and 1199; the relic did not come to Amiens before A.D. 1205; no pilgrimage to Amiens, therefore, could be the occasion of their device. The history of the relic, for more than seven centuries before it reached Amiens, is clear; it was found at Emesa, in Syria, A.D.

453, and there preserved until the beginning of the ninth century, when the fear lest it should fall into the hands of the Saracens occasioned its translation to Constantinople; there it was kept in the church attached to the Mangana Palace of the Greek Emperors, until the destruction of that palace, and the murder of the Emperor Alexius, A.D. 1183. From this date, until A.D. 1204, when it was found in the ruins of the palace by Walter de Sarton, Canon of Amiens, it seems to have been lost; and, if so, was inaccessible to pilgrims from the West during an interval which comprises the limits of the coinage of our half-pennies,—limits which may be, with great probability, contracted by four years, since from A.D. 1185 to 1189 John de Curci was Governor of Ireland, and the two successive types of these half-pennies seem to correspond with two successive types of Dr. Curci's Carrickfergus farthings, the date of which is probably posterior to his retirement to his Earldom of Ulster.

If, then, the device of these half-pennies originated from the Amiens relic, it must have been occasioned by the visit of some pilgrim or crusader to Constantinople before A.D. 1183. There is, however, an alternative which may perhaps account more satisfactorily for the origin of this device.

There was a head, believed to be that of St. John the Baptist, preserved in the monastery of Angely, in Saintonge, from before the tenth century down to A.D. 1569, when the church was destroyed. Doubts as to its genuineness occasioned the shrine in which it was preserved (and which is described as having been a pyramid of stone) to be opened in the time of William IV., Duke of Aquitaine, (A.D. 963 to 1010), and it was found enclosed in a silver

thurible. These doubts probably were set at rest for a time, and on account of the possession of the relic the monastery was favoured with the privilege of sanctuary and immunity by William IX., A.D. 1131. This William was the grandfather of Alienora, the mother of King John, and from the Chronicle of Robert of S. Michael's Mount, we learn that she went to Normandy A.D. 1165, gave birth in October of that year to a daughter, who was named Johanna, at Angers, spent the Christmas of A.D. 1167 at Poitiers, and returned to England in the same year, not long before the birth of John. For the names of her earlier offspring, there are family reasons to account; but the fact that she spent the years of the birth of Johanna and of John in her own territories, connected with the problem before us, suggests the probability of a visit to Angely, and a vow to name her expected offspring after S. John the Baptist. Thus, then, the head upon these half-pennies may represent the head as it appeared in the silver thurible at Angely, when the cover was raised; and it may not be out of the way to remark that, whereas the Amiens relic is called "facies" which it is, and no more, the head upon Dr. Smith's half-penny is called "caput" which the relic at Angely really was.

D. H. HAIGH.

XIII.

GROATS OF HENRY IV., V., AND VI.

IN ANSWER TO THE REV. MR. POWNALL'S PAPER ON "THE MULLET-GROAT."

I HAVE given Mr. Pownall's paper on "the mullet-marked groat" every attention, and it appears to me, that instead of weakening the position I have ventured to take up as regards the classification of the London and Calais groats of Henry IV., V., and VI., he actually on his own showing—unwittingly perhaps—adds weight to my arguments. Mr. Pownall, it will be observed, replies only to one part of my paper, and after giving the Society the benefit of some very useful advice, proceeds to state that the opinion advanced by me respecting the groats with a mullet on the king's breast is not new to numismatists, nor is the coin published by me for the first time. If Mr. Pownall again refers to my paper he will find that I did not take credit for being the first to give the money in question to Henry V. I simply said that Mr. Longstaffe, working from a different point of view, had arrived with me at one conclusion in a matter of importance, he being of opinion that "the great annulet coinage was the immediate successor of that which on the half-groat had the star on the king's breast." Mr. Pownall now mentions that

Mr. Lindsay, of Cork, arrived at the same opinion twenty years ago, in a catalogue published by Mr. Saint-hill in the "Olla Podrida."[1] I am glad to hear this, as Mr. Lindsay's assent cannot but add weight to Mr. Longstaffe's opinion and to mine.

When I submitted the result of my examination of the groats for the consideration of numismatists I merely gave my firm opinion respecting the classification of the coins, not of course expecting to convince everybody, and I am sure I have no wish that any member of the Society should "hasten with me to the judgment seat," as Mr. Pownall puts it, or include my arrangement of the groats of Henry IV., V., and VI. "in his articles of faith." One great object of the Numismatic Chronicle, if I mistake not, is to afford an opportunity to all members of the Society of expressing their views on unsettled questions, in the hope of assisting towards a conclusion.

Mr. Pownall has another little complaint against me, if he may bring it forward, as he says, without ill-nature. He then proceeds to find fault with some trifling matter of detail in my opening statement, which gives him an opportunity of bringing Mr. Longstaffe into the controversy as my opponent. But why Mr. Pownall takes it for granted that Mr. Longstaffe is at variance with me I am quite unable to explain. And when I assure him that Mr. Longstaffe, "with his wide knowledge of coins," "his daring," "his quick eye," and his ability for "dealing out right and left valuable and interesting particulars," *entirely agrees with me,* he must, I think, admit that his paper, which was written for the purpose of showing

[1] When my last paper was written, I had not seen the "Olla Podrida." I have lately obtained a copy.

"how far my views agree with those who are engaged in this inquiry," is only effective in supporting my opinions, the more so, as he himself is in a great state of uncertainty.

A few days after the publication of my paper, Mr. Longstaffe wrote me a letter, which I felt very gratified to receive, particularly as that gentleman was only known to me by name, and his interest in the subject was the sole reason of his communication. So forcibly, indeed, is Mr. Longstaffe's opinion expressed that I am led to think my ideas had already taken some form in his own mind. "The general arrangement cannot now be disturbed," writes Mr. Longstaffe, in allusion to my paper. Does Mr. Pownall think the coins can possibly be arranged in any other way? To combat successfully an argument brought forward by another, I have always understood (I may be wrong) that it is necessary for the critic to have some slight idea of his own as to what he himself considers right; if he has formed no idea worth bringing forward, what is the use of his simple protest when opposed to the conviction of another writer? The language he uses must be obscure; his meaning must be vague, and, naturally enough, his argument only tends to confuse those who know but little of the subject, while it soon passes out of the mind of those who have given the matter their special attention. After taking considerable interest for some years in the silver money of Henry IV., V., and VI., and having gradually acquired a very interesting collection, the subject grew on me, and my opinions became as formed as they are likely to become, considering the materials at hand. Then only did I venture to state my case in such a manner as I considered best conveyed my meaning plainly to the mind of others. I have but

little now to add, but that little goes to strengthen the position I have already taken up respecting the arrangement of the groats. It must be remembered I am speaking only of the groats; the gold coinage I intend to leave in the hands of others. Mr. Lindsay, in the "Olla Podrida," considers the gold coinage, if anything, more difficult to arrange than the silver.

Mr. Pownall asks me to re-consider the opinion I have given respecting documentary evidence. Looking at both sides of the question, I must again repeat that the documentary evidence of the period in question, unless actually supported by coins, is not to be depended on. Such must, I am sure, be the general opinion. If coins can be found to support documentary evidence, so much the better; but Mr. Pownall seems to suppose that any coins struck at Calais by Henry V., must, of necessity, be very few in number, and now for the first time calls the early annulet groats, which read ΠΠ6LIC, as witnesses, if he may assume, as he says, by my showing that they are Henry V.'s money. If Mr. Pownall has inspected the various coins sold at auction during the last few years, or if he has kept an eye on dealers' cabinets, he must have noticed that the early annulet Calais groat is a common variety, that reading ΠΠ6LIC especially so. But, putting the question of rarity aside, Mr. Pownall of course well knows that the mullet groats read ΠΠ6LIC and ΠΠ6L; the early annulet money of London and Calais also reads the same; yet in all other respects the coins are so exactly alike that if the words referred to are covered with the finger one coin cannot be distinguished from the other. These varieties, for reasons stated in my last paper, I have no doubt whatever belong to Henry V. If Mr. Pownall is of opinion that the annulet money of

the early type can be divided between Henry V. and Henry VI., because of the difference alluded to, may I ask him how he would arrange the mullet money which also reads ΠΠ6LIЄ and ΠΠ6L? Surely he would not give those reading ΠΠ6LIЄ to Henry V., and those reading ΠΠ6L to Henry VI. If Mr. Pownall divides the early annulet money, he must, by the same rule, also divide the mullet money, which I maintain cannot possibly be done. The two rare coins he mentions (p. 343) must be considered as witnesses in my favour; as is also a groat I have lately secured reading:—

✠ hЄΠRIЄ ⁘ DI ⁘ GRΠ' ⁘ RЄX × ΠΠGLIЄ ⁘ ⁘ FRΠNЄ' ⁘
✠ POSVI²DЄVM ⁘ ΠDIVTORЄ' MЄVM.
CIVITΠS ⁘ LOΠDOΠ ⁘.

The obverse of this coin is very similar to Hawkins' No. 325, but the hair is arranged as on the common money of the Henries, and no doubt it was issued soon after the Roman N was discarded, and before the introduction of the mullet money, which type it somewhat resembles. It is impossible to say whether the mark after POSVI is a trefoil, or a quatrefoil, it is so blundered. The coin is now on the table of the Society; the late Mr. Whitbourn considered it to belong to Henry IV., but the arrangement of the hair and type generally induces me to assign it to a very early issue of Henry V., although I may here mention that I have some slight doubt as to whether the alteration in the arrangement of the hair on coins, as is generally supposed, first took place in the reign of Henry V. I will state my reason for this doubt. I have three coins—a half-groat with the Roman N in London, and two heavy half-pennies, from different dies,

weighing respectively 9 and 9¼ grs.—on which the hair is arranged as on the common money of the Henries. The half-groat is a very remarkable and important piece, a last instance of the Roman N in London, and it goes to prove that either Henry V. did not strike all his coins with the old English ℼ, or that he was not the first to alter the arrangement of the hair. The coin reads ⊼ℼ6LI𝔠, and has twelve cusps, and certainly precedes the mullet money; as a link of evidence it is invaluable, and strongly supports my view. All such intermediate coins, if not unique, are of the greatest rarity, and can never, I fear, themselves be classified with any degree of certainty; but their great usefulness in forcing the common varieties into their proper places will not be denied.

J. Fred. Neck.

XIV.

THE ROYAL BUST ON EARLY GROATS.

The peculiar manner in which our kings were represented on some of the silver money, from the time of Edward III. to that of Henry VII., though it seems never to have called out the comment of numismatic writers, has doubtless often challenged their observation. Circumstances have lately led me towards a view of it, which I shall endeavour to present now to the members of this Society. Peculiar it certainly was, that effigy of a king on one side of those groats, with its crowned visage and naked bust. Woman-like to those who see it for the first time; for although I might find it hard to recall my own early impression, on several occasions can I recollect the thing to have been said by others who were unacquainted with the look of the coin: and how the long flowing hair, in addition to the undressed chest and beardless chin, starts the idea, we can any of us understand.

It is not, however, the idea which may now strike us, but that which was meant by the designer of the type for the minds of those whose hands the money was meant for,

on which I desire to engage your thoughts at present. How did this representation of their king strike them, and how was it intended to strike them? Confining this question, as I propose to do, to the English coins of that age, it is perhaps advisable to remark, in passing, that it applies with equal force to the contemporary Scotch coins; nay, I think, if the truth has to be spoken, that our English princes, upon the coins, had somewhat the advantage of their cousins across the Tweed; for however quaintly our kings may look thereon, those of Scotland sit figured more like "ill-faared breekless catarans" than noble knights and Christian gentlemen. Yet, is it not the case that he who engraved the die desired to make them appear even king-like, in the completest sense he knew? His conception of a king, grotesque as its embodiment may seem to us, to him was something more than the image of a crowned head; that was but half, and not the half to which he was likely to attach supreme importance.

That this may be clearly seen, I shall be compelled, I fear, to produce matter which must be familiarly known. Formerly, in the estimation of both prince and people, the rite of coronation so strengthened a title to the throne that haste was used to secure its performance. But then the rite consisted not simply in the heir being enthroned and crowned, but in his also being anointed. One act was not of less consequence than the other. For if crowning evidenced the consummation of the people's choice, the solemn anointing, as in Israel of old, bespoke the hand of Divine Power confirming the choice. It clothed with inviolable sanctity the person of the king, just as much as placing a crown upon his head symbolized his supremacy. In the popular esteem, he stood before his people—

"The figure of God's majesty,
His captain, steward, deputy elect,
Anointed, crowned."

The making of sovereignty, then, came out of one act even as much as from the other, and so the words began to be used synonymously. As in Jotham's parable, the trees *anoint* a king over them, so the old rhymester says, in describing Alfred's coronation by Pope Leo IV.,

"He elede (oiled) him to be king."[1]

Of the nature of a sacrament,[2] holy unction could not be repeated[3]—its mark was indelible; and from it sprang the significance of the words: "King, by the grace of God;" a title, says Selden, "which could not be given to any one else of the laity."[4] This use of unction in England dates back to very early times indeed.

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[1] "Old Rhimes of Robert of Gloucester." MS. quoted in Selden's "Titles of Honour," p. 150; 2nd edition. London. 1631.

[2] St. Augustine is quoted by Selden as using the word "Sacramentum" when [illegible] the anointing of princes.

[3] The story [illegible] II. greatly desiring, though already an anointed king, to be [illegible] the holy oil given many years before by the Blessed Virgin to St. Thomas of Canterbury, is believed to have been invented to serve the purposes of his rival and successor; but it demonstrates the feeling prevalent in that time. In the story Archbishop Courtenay is made to say: "Sibi sufficere quod semel per manus suas sacram suscepit in coronatione pristinâ unctionem quæ habere non debuit iterationem." Selden's remark on the whole tale is quaint enough: "I examine not the truth of it; let every man's faith in these things be, for me, at his own pleasure." P. 153.

[4] It is noted in Ruding, under Edward III.'s reign, that Ina, King of the West Saxons (688 A.D.), first introduced the words "Dei Gratia" into his royal style, but Ruding does not give the sentence. The statutes of Ina begin, "Ic Ine mid Godes gife Westseaxana Cuning, (Ego Ina Dei Gratiâ Occiduorum Saxonum Rex).—Wilkin's "Leges Anglo Saxonicæ," 1721.

It is remarkable that although these words, which have never

Maskell asserts there is sufficient evidence to show that the rite of anointing can be traced higher with respect to the princes of England than those of any other country.[5] The actual manner of performing it consisted not simply in pouring the holy oil upon the head of the person, but in touching with it the breast and arms as well. "Inunguenter reges in capite, etiam pectore, et brachiis, quod significat gloriam, sanctitatem, et fortitudinem."[6]

Part of this ceremonial, from feelings of delicacy, was dispensed with in the anointing at the last two coronations; perhaps a belief in the necessity for a rigorous observance of the office having diminished in proportion as a disbelief in the personal Divine right of kings has increased. After the anointing, the function was rendered complete by prayer, the form of which, dating even from Anglo-Saxon times, has been preserved to ours.[7] A white kerchief then placed upon the now sacred head was left upon it for seven days, to allow ingress to the unction, and on the seventh day, with much ceremony, was removed.[8] (Maskell, vol. iii. p. xxi.)

since Edward III.'s time lost their hold upon our coinage, had been in use by the Scotch king, Alexander III. (1249), a century before (ALEXANDER DEI GRΛTIΛ REX SCOTORVM), yet, with the exception of the pattern groat, they were not placed on the money by any of our kings till Edward III., and by him chiefly for political reasons.

[5] "Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," vol. iii. p. 8.

[6] Thomas à Beckett in epist. ad Hen. II., apud M. Paris. Selden, p. 144.

[7] Selden, p. 152.

[8] In the Order of King James I.'s Coronation, the Rubric ran as follows:—"This done, the king ariseth from his devotions, and reposeth himself awhile in his chair of estate. After a while he goeth to the altar, and there disrobeth himself of his upper garments, his under apparel being made open with loops only closed at the places which are to be anointed. The Archbishop undoeth the loops and openeth the places which he is to

Let us now see how this portion of the coronation service has been described by some English writers of early date, for it is important to my argument. Roger of Wendover (anno 1189) thus mentions the anointing, in his account of Richard Cœur de Lion's coronation:—"After this they stripped him of all his clothes except his breeches and shirt, which had been ripped apart over his shoulders to receive the unction, ... and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, *anointed him king in three places, namely, on his head, his shoulders, and his right arm,* using prayers composed for the occasion. Then a consecrated linen cloth was placed on his head, over which was put a hat, and when they had again clothed him in his royal robes," &c., &c. Hoveden's picture of the scene is much the same.[9]

Anointing Richard III. and his Queen Anne is graphically described in Holinshed's Chronicle thus:—"They passed through the palace, and entered the Abbeie at the west end, and so came to their seats of estate. And after diverse songs solemnelie song, they both ascended to the high altar, and *were shifted from their robes, and had diverse places open from the middle upwards,* in which places they were annointed. Then both the king and the queene changed them into cloth of gold, and ascended

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anoint . . . The prayer ended, the Archbishop proceedeth with his anointing—1, of the breast; 2, between the shoulders; 3, of both shoulders; 4, of the *boughes* of both his arms; 5, of his head in the crown. The anointing being done, the Dean of Westminster closeth the loops again which were opened. The prayers being ended, a shallow quoif is put on the king's head, because of the anointing; *if his Majesty's hair be not smooth after it, there is King Edward's ivory comb for that end.*"

[9] Annals of Roger de Hoveden, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, vol. ii. p. 118.

to their seats, where the Cardinall of Canterburie and other bishops them crowned, according to the custome of the realme."[10] (An. Dom. 1483, An. Reg. 1.)

Dean Stanley, to whom I desire to make acknowledgment here for several references, in his book entitled, "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey,"—a storehouse of antiquarian learning—on its special subject, as the subject of which it treats is of antiquarian interest, speaks of it in these words: "The lofty platform, high above the altar; the strange appearance of king and queen, as they sate, *stripped from the waist upwards, to be anointed;* the dukes around the king; the bishops and ladies about the queen . . . were incidents long remembered" (p. 73). Concerning Edward VI., too, there is a passage in the same work where the Dean quotes Hall, a contemporary writer: "The unction was performed with unusual care. My Lord of Canterbury, kneeling on his knees, and the king lying prostrate upon the altar, anointed his back."[11]

The feeling which in these days demands some curtailment of the office as regards women, if it existed at all in those, had to yield to other feelings more imperious still. Any withdrawal from the rite in its strictness was then impossible. Such as this was Raphael Holinshed's account of its performance in the case of Queen Anne Boleyn:[12] "When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middest of the church, betweene the queere and the high altar, she was set in a rich chaire; and after that she had rested awhile, she descended downe to the high altar, and there prostrate hirself, while the Archbishop of

[10] See also Grafton's Chronicle, R. III.
[11] Hist. Mem. of W. A., p. 80.
[12] Vol. iii. Anno Dom. 1533, Anno Reg. 25.

Canterburie said certaine collects; then she rose, and the bishop anointed hir on the head and on the brest, and then she was led up again, where, after diverse orisons said, the archbishop set the crowne of Saint Edward on hir head," &c., &c.

Bearing in mind the sentiment about unction common in those times, and also the accounts we have in these passages of the manner in which that sentiment found expression when our kings and queens were crowned, let me now ask you to look again at some of the English coins of the fifteenth century, and consider what was the obvious signification of the crowned visage and naked bust. By it people were to be reminded of their allegiance to one who claimed allegiance on the ground of Divine right; anointed, as well as crowned, he was the object of God's choice as well as the people's. Whenever they looked at the money in their hand they would be put in remembrance of the sight which some of them had seen when the day of coronation gave them a new king. That representation of a king, which to your eye would bespeak royalty more if robes of state were covering its naked shoulders, to a subject of the House of Lancaster or York was an image of the spectacle witnessed in the Abbey, when his liege lord sat enthroned on high, not to be crowned only, but, "stripped from the waist upwards," to be anointed. It was an ever-recurring appeal to a sentiment in his mind—powerful, because distinctly associated with religion:—

> "Not all the water in the rough rude sea
> Can wash the balm from an anointed king:
> The breath of worldly men cannot depose
> The deputy elected by the Lord:"

is the word put into the mouth of Richard II. in the

play; and Shakespeare was but setting forth what kings felt about the unction, or, at least, what people thought they felt; while the coin itself exemplifies what the people felt, or, at least, what kings would have them feel.

It remains for me to point out how the appeal to this religious sentiment was invariably being made by the money of our kings during the period I have named. Here a great authority can help me, though his help, if I am not mistaken, was unintentionally provided. In "The Silver Coins of England," p. 91, the late Mr. Hawkins, speaking of the distinctions to be observed among the pennies of Edward I., II., and III., says: "We believe that *the shoulders of Edward I. and Edward II. are always clothed, those of Edward III. never;* and we consider this a sure guide for separating his coins from those of his two predecessors;" and in the pages which follow it may be seen how he always regarded the absence of drapery on the king's bust as characterizing the coins of Edward III.[13] That this denuding of the bust was continued in many succeeding reigns is beyond question. Attaining its fullest development in the time of Henry VI., when the naked chest of the king is displayed with a free distinctness which looks almost coarse unless the cause of the display be understood, this manner of representing the sacred person of the sovereign obtained until the third coinage of King Henry VII., when, among other changes, was introduced a profile likeness, having the neck no longer

[13] It may be thought by some of us that the account of these coins might advantageously be re-written, for thirty years have nearly passed since Mr. Hawkins's very useful Manual was published; but nothing that I know of has been brought to light since its publication to destroy the validity of the canon he laid down in the words here quoted.

nude, but decently robed. From that time to this there has been no repetition of the custom, but while it lasted we must be interested in observing its historical significance. Edward III.'s claim to the French crown is believed to have been backed by his assuming the pertinent motto, "Posui Deum adjutorem meum." That also was an appeal to the religious sentiment of his people. Thus he first, of English kings, made his money the vehicle by which to carry to their minds the religious character of his right. What wonder, therefore, that we should find, synchronizing with this motto, and the "REX DEI GRATIA" upon his coins, his bared neck, as he sat to be anointed? Once begun, the fashion might keep its hold, as fashion often does, long after any reason for its use remained; but no decrease of reason for its use was likely to arise when Bolingbroke became king. The worse title to the throne had to stand before men as the better, and it could not quite stand on its own legs. Several incidents are on record showing how he wished to be seen by his subjects leaning upon the religious element for support. Even upon his pennies the words "DI GRA" appear in the legend,[14] and this without precedent. Why the mode of thus representing the king as the Lord's anointed upon the money should culminate in the time of Henry VI. is not hard to see. Recollecting his devout habit of mind, reflected in a half monkish way of life; recollecting the contest between the two rival Houses in his distracted reign, causes occur in plenty for the continuance of a custom which doubtless often produced its effect. For Englishmen the choice lay between the descendants of a common

[14] Excepting the coins of Alexander III. of Scotland, whose halfpennies even bear the words DEI . GRA.

stock; and when the claim of the Red Rose trembled in the balance of opinion, it was policy to remind a partizan of the rite by which Henry VI.'s title to the crown had been most religiously confirmed. In more ways than one the coin helped the cause. The piety of men was invoked as well as their personal feeling. Why, again, this address to pious sentiment should have been discontinued in 1503 A.D., when Henry VII. was quietly seated on the throne—Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck having disappeared from the scene, no other man disputing his right—to dilate upon would only be multiplying words.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *Revue Numismatique*, No. 6, 1868, are the following articles :—

1. "Letters from M. de Saulcy to M. Adr. de Longpérier on Gaulish Numismatics." XXIX. Revision of the first ten letters.

2. "On some denominations of Greek coins mentioned in ancient authors and inscriptions" (Conclusion), by M. F. Lenormant.

3. "On the coins of Pescennius Niger," by M. H. Cohen.

4. "Byzantine Numismatics. On the two Gabalas, Leo and John, Grand Masters of Rhodes in the thirteenth century," by M. A. de Longpérier.

5. "On the coins of Toul" (Merovingian), by M. C. Robert.

6. "On a Find of small coins of the Middle Ages struck in Alsace," by M. F. de Pfaffenhoffen.

In the *Chronique* are the following notices :—

1. Prize for Numismatics awarded by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, to M. le Commandeur Domenico Promis, for his work on the coins of Italy during the Middle Ages.

2. "Remarks on two large brass coins of Trajan," by M. H. de Longpérier.

3. "On a Merovingian triens of Thiviers," by the Abbé Audierne.

4. "On the Charost (Cher) Find," by M. A. Buhot de Kersers.

5. Sale of the Dassy collection.

In the *deuxième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* for 1869 are the following articles :—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity," 13th Art., by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Mailliet.

2. "Numismatic Curiosities, rare or inedited coins," 12th Art., by M. R. Chalon.

3. "On a Find of coins of the Low Countries in the province of Groningen," by M. Hooft van Iddekinge.

4. "Marriage Jettons," by M. R. Chalon, 2nd Art.

5. "On the Find of Pingjum (Frisia), in June, 1868," by M. J. Dirks.

6. "Medals and coins discovered in the Low Countries during the eighteenth century, and previously." Letter to M. Chalon, by H. Schuermans.

In the *Correspondance* are extracts from letters to M. R. Chalon and M. le Comte Maurin Nahuys, from MM. Hooft van Iddekinge and Burman-Becker.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* are recorded the deaths of MM. d' Affry and Landré.

"A List of Medals, Jettons, Tokens, &c., in connection with Printers and the Art of Printing," by William Blades. 1869. Fcp. 4to and 8vo. Plates. Not printed for sale.

THIS little work, of which only 100 copies have been struck off, is intended as a forerunner of a similar work upon a larger scale, to be entitled "Numismata Typographica." One object in producing this forerunner is to seek assistance in rendering the catalogue of such medals as complete as possible. The author says that there must be many medals and jettons connected with printing hitherto unnoticed, especially such as have been struck by local associations for mutual help, by benefit societies, printers' guilds, and private firms. There are also certain festival medals, especially some of the 1740 Jubilee, which have hitherto eluded his grasp. While commending the forthcoming work, of which the volume before us is so pleasing a sample, to our readers, we request their assistance towards completing the catalogue for the author, whose address is 11, Abchurch Lane, E.C.

"Recherches sur les Empereurs qui ont regné dans les Gaules au III^me^ Siècle de l'Ere Chrétienne," par J. de Witte, &c., &c. Lyon, 1868. 4to., pp. 202, and 49 Plates.

THIS magnificent volume forms the first instalment of a work on the coinage of a period perhaps the most [illegible] Roman history to the numismatists of Western [illegible]. The soil not only of France, but of England, teems with the coins of Postumus, Victorinus, and the two Tetrici, interspersed at times with the rarer issues of Marius and Lælianus. It is of these emperors that M. de Witte proposes to give in his second volume, the history in part based upon, and in part illustrative of, their coins and inscriptions. The present volume gives admirable and faithful engravings of the numerous types issued by these emperors, accompanied by a descriptive list. The well-known ability of M. de Witte offers a guarantee that the second volume will be in keeping with the first, and that the whole work when complete will form one of the most important additions to a numismatic library which has appeared during the present century.

"Recherches sur la Monnaie Romaine depuis son Origine jus qu'à la Mort d'Auguste." Par le Baron d'Ailly. Lyon, 4°.

The third and concluding part of the second volume of this splendid work has just been published, and comprises notices of the various monograms and distinctive symbols on Family Coins, and a supplement containing descriptions of coins which have come to the author's knowledge since the work was commenced. These are illustrated by 16 Plates, forming 118 in all. We recommend those interested in the Roman Consular Series at once to secure a copy of the work.

MISCELLANEA.

Interesting Discovery in Scotch Numismatics.—Some weeks ago a friend called upon me with a pattern of a groat, in copper, of Queen Anne, of the Edinburgh Mint, bearing the date 1711, which, being a nondescript coin, I sent for exhibition before the Numismatic Society. Being in Edinburgh, I went to the Antiquarian Museum, where among the dies of the Scottish series there preserved I found one for a two-penny piece bearing the same date. The die, although rather worn, is quite recognisable as belonging to the Edinburgh Mint. Under the bust the letter E is quite distinct, as well as the date 1711 on the reverse. Hitherto no coins struck at Edinburgh have been found bearing a later date than 1709. It seems, however, from this discovery that a series of the Maunday money was intended to be struck in 1711. Whether or not any were really struck is doubtful, as none are known in any cabinet, public or private, with which I am acquainted. As, however, the die seems to be the worse for wear, it is not improbable that specimens of the Maunday money of Queen Anne struck at Edinburgh in 1711, may yet come to light. As I know the above will be interesting to all collectors of the Scottish series, I have much pleasure in communicating it to the Society.

James Wingate.

Coins of St. Peter.—I have read with much interest the paper of Mr. Rashleigh, in the last number of the Numismatic Chronicle, on the coins of Northumbria, particularly that portion of it which treats of those of St. Peter. Four of these coins came into my possession last year, which were found along with many others of the same description about the year 1804, in a field adjoining the high road between York and Malton,

about midway between those places. Three of these are, as far as I can make out, of different types from any of those noticed by Mr. Rashleigh; an account of them, therefore, as an addition to his list, might not be uninteresting.

The first of the four reads thus:—

Obv.—⊂ + SCI PE o o TRI MO + ;

Rev.—+ EB◇R▽CE CIY

This coin appears very similar to the second of those described by Mr. Rashleigh under the head 1st type B, 910—915.

The next is precisely the same as the second on p. 103.

The third reads thus:—

Obv.—oS̄C̄I PE v v TRI IIO o

Rev.—+ IBOR▽CECI ⊹. Small cross in centre.

Although this coin does not correspond exactly with any of those described, yet it bears a close resemblance to those of the 4th type, A.D. 940—954.

The fourth coin in my possession, which is unfortunately broken, though otherwise in excellent preservation, I was unable myself accurately to decipher. Since writing the above, however, a sketch of it has been shown to Mr. Rashleigh, who attributes it to Regnald I., the obverse being like his No. 24, but the legend partly retrograde, the reverse similar to that of No. 22, wholly retrograde. The legend may be read thus:—

Obv.—+ RAIC (retrograde) NOITI + ; ?

Rev.—+ . EIARICET (retrograde).

I hope on some future occasion, if I am so fortunate as to obtain the remainder of the coins which composed this hoard, to be able to give some account of them in this journal.

MARMADUKE C. F. MORRIS.

Castleton, Cardiff, *June*, 1869.

XV.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

(*Continued from* p. 153.)

By Major-General A. Cunningham.

Before proceeding to describe the coins of Eukratides, the successor of Demetrius, it is necessary to discuss the theory first put forth by Bayer in the last century, and in our own time supported by the weighty opinion of the learned French Academician, Raoul Rochette, that there was was a second prince of this name, the son and successor of the first. The argument of Bayer is based upon the assumption that some of the facts told of Eukratides agree better with the history of his son, and, consequently, that the name of the son must also have been Eukratides.[1] But Bayer's facts are only ingenious inferences, which seem to me to have no solid foundation. He supposes that Eukratides was the King of the Bactrians, who invited the advance of Demetrius Nikator against Parthia; and that as the son of Eukratides treated his father as an enemy, the father must have been a friend of the Parthians; and, consequently, that the

[1] Historia regni Græc. Bactr., xxxix., p. 95. "Nam quædam de Eucratide dicuntur, quæ in illum superiorem non cadunt—fuit igitur, cui illa conveniunt, et ipse dictus Eucratides."

friend and enemy of the Parthians must have been two different persons. But these are mere assumptions: and although I am quite prepared to admit that the son of Eukratides may have invited the King of Syria to invade Parthia, yet it is certain that no ancient author gives this son the name of Eukratides. Strabo, however, does mention that the Parthians took the two satrapies of Aspiones and Turiva from Eukratides; and as Bayer assigns this campaign to the latter part of the reign of Mithridates, he argues that it must have been conducted against the son of Eukratides, the enemy of the Parthians, and, therefore, that this son must also have been named Eukratides. Now the actual date of the conquest of these satrapies by the Parthians is uncertain; but I gather from the expression used by Justin, of the Bactrians worn out by their wars with the Drangians, Sogdians, and Indians, being at last vanquished by the "weaker" Parthians, that this acquisition of territory must have been made before the Parthian conquest of Media and Elymaïs, as after their annexation the Parthians could not be called "weaker" than the Bactrians. The conquest of these satrapies must consequently have taken place early in the reign of Mithridates, and therefore during the reign of Eukratides, the supplanter of Demetrius.

The argument of Raoul Rochette is founded upon the fact that the Eukratides of the coins uses two different titles and two distinct types; the one offering a bare head of the king, with the simple title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, and the other a helmeted head with the more ambitious title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. These differences are sufficient, he thinks, to prove that there must have been two princes of the name of Eukratides. He also

thinks that the two heads are of different shapes. But I am prepared to contest these conclusions; for we not only possess several coins with helmeted heads, accompanied by the simple title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, as well as others with bare heads, and the more ambitious title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ,[2] but we actually have the name of the father of Eukratides the Great recorded by himself on the remarkable coin engraved as Fig. 6 of the accompanying Plate V. On this coin Eukratides the Great distinctly calls himself the son of Heliokles and Laodike, and, consequently, Raoul Rochette's argument has lost its only support.[3] Wilson had this coin before him when he wrote the Ariana Antiqua; but as he supposed that it was minted by the young Prince Heliokles, the son of Eukratides, he failed to see its conclusive bearing on the question raised by Bayer and Raoul Rochette. The two legends of this important coin are ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ, and ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ, which form one intelligible inscription by the insertion of *υιος* between them. The connection of the two legends is obvious, and is most satisfactorily illustrated by the opening words of the Adulitic inscription, *Βασιλευς μεγας Πτολεμαιος, υιος Βασιλεως Πτολεμαιου και Βασιλισσης Αρσινοης.*

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[2] See the accompanying Plate V., Figs. 3 and 5, for a tetradrachm and obolus of the former type, and Fig. 12 of the same Plate for a square copper *lepton* of the latter type. See also Ariana Antiqua, pl. iii., figs. 6 and 12.

[3] Jour. des Sav., 1836, p. 130, *note* 1: "Les faits historiques rappelés par Bayer, et que ne peuvent concerner qu'un *second Eucratide*, d'accord avec les médailles mêmes, qui nous offrent une *tête de Roi diadémée*, avec le simple titre, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, et une *tête de Roi*, différénte pour la conformation, et *coiffée d'un casque*, avec l'inscription accrue d'une epithète ambitieuse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, prouvent suffisamment qu'il y eut effectivement *deux Eucratides*."

COINS OF EUKRATIDES THE GREAT.

1. O Æ 22. *Twenty-stater piece*, or $1\frac{1}{5}$ talent. Bibl. Imp., 2593·5 grs. Unique, from Bokhara. See description by M. Chabouillet in Rev. Num., 1837, p. 382 and pl. xii. For types see Plate V., Fig. 7.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right, with the ends of the diadem hanging behind. The helmet has a long, flowing crest, and is ornamented on the side with the ear and horn of a bull. The shoulder is draped. The whole is surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading.

Rev.—The mounted Dioskuri charging with levelled spears to the right, and carrying palm branches over their left shoulders. In the field to right No. 58 monogram. Legend disposed in two lines; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ in a semicircle at top, and ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ in a straight line below.

2. O Æ 13. *Tetradrachma.* British Museum. 259 grs. Duplicates, Bodleian Lib., and author, 258 grs. Rare. Plate V., Fig. 1. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with the shoulders draped. The whole surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading.

Rev.—Draped figure of Apollo, standing to the front, holding an arrow in his right hand, and placing his left hand on a bow, which rests on the ground. In the field to left No. 24 monogram, lower fig. Legend in two perpendicular lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

A duplicate has a monogram formed of the letters M and H; and the Bodleian specimen has a monogram like No. 1, but without the sloping stroke on the left.

2a. O Æ 7. *Drachma.* General Fox. Duplicate, General Abbott. Thomas No. 1a.

Same types as No. 2, with No. 57 monogram. General Abbott's duplicate has the detached letters KI.

EUKRATIDES the Great.



F. J. Lees

PLATE V.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

3. O Æ 12. *Tetradrachma.* British Museum, 258·5 grs. From author. Duplicates, Mr. Wigan (from Mr. Gibbs), 263 grs., Mr. E. C. Bayley, and General Abbott. Extremely rare. Plate V., Fig. 2. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with draped shoulders, as on No. 2.

Rev.—Dioskuri charging to right, as on No. 1. In field to right No. 16 monogram. Legend in two horizontal lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Mr. Wigan's coin has No. 3 monogram; and Mr. Bayley's coin has No. 16.

3a. O Æ 7. *Drachma.* Author, 64 grs. Jour. des Sav., 1836. Plate II., Fig. 3. Thomas, No. 4a.

Same types as No. 3. In the field to left the letter A, and to right a monogram like No. 105, but with the middle stroke extended upwards.

4. O Æ 14. *Tetradrachma.* 247 grs. Formerly in the possession of the author; stolen in 1844. Duplicate, Mr. Campbell, procured by Dr. Mackinnon from Bokhara. Only two specimens. Plate V., Fig. 3.

Obv.—Helmeted head of the king to the right, as on No. 1.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri, as on No. 1. Legend in two horizontal lines, as on No. 3. Monogram No. 17.

5. O Æ 4. *Obolus.* Author, 10·75 grs. Plate V., Fig. 4. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of the king, as on No. 2.

Rev.—Egg caps and palm branches of the Dioskuri. In the field below No. 16 monogram. Other specimens have Nos. 18 and 30 monograms. Legend in two perpendicular lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

6. O Æ 4. *Obolus.* Author, 10·5 grs. Plate V., Fig. 5. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Helmeted head of the king, as on No. 1.

Rev.—Egg caps and palm branches of the Dioskuri. In the field below No. 30 monogram. Legend in two perpendicular lines, as on No. 5.

7. O Æ 12. *Tetradrachma.* Author, 259 grs. Plate V., Fig. 6. Duplicate, India Office. See Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal vii., pl. xxvii., fig. 1; and Ariana Antiqua, xxi., 7. Lady Sale obtained a third genuine specimen of this coin from Badakshan. It was lost during the Indian mutiny, along with the whole of her collection. Thomas, No. 5.

Obv.—Helmeted head of the king, as on No. 1. Legend in two lines, disposed as on the gold coin, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ. The whole surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading.

Rev.—Bare male and female heads in high relief to right, without diadems. In the field to left No. 3 monogram. The duplicate has No. 30 monogram. Legend in two horizontal lines, ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Mr. Thomas notices two forged casts of this coin; and I saw five different casts of it before I obtained the original. All the casts repeat a straight superficial scratch in front of the face of Eukratides, as well as the injury to the eye of Heliokles, which has been deliberately drilled out by some bigoted Muhammadan.

7a. O Æ 8. *Drachma.* Mr. Wigan (from Mr. Gibbs).

Same types as No. 7, with No. 30 monogram.

8. O Æ 13. *Tetradrachma.* British Museum, 258 grs. This is the common type of the tetradrachms of Eukratides. Thomas, No. 6.

Obv.—Helmeted head, as in No. 1.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri charging, as on No. 1. Monogram No. 57. The usual monograms that accompany this type are Nos. 3, 18, 30, 57, and 58. One of the British Museum specimens has No. 40 monogram.

8a. O Æ 8. *Drachma.* Author, 64 grs.

Same types as No. 8. Thomas, No. 6a.

9. ○ Æ 13. *Tetradrachma.* Author, 233 grs. Much worn. From Bokhara. Plate V., Fig. 8. Duplicate published in Trésor de Num., lxxxiii., fig. 7. The author also possesses the cast of a third specimen.

Obv.—Naked bust of the king, with helmet and diadem, looking to left, and darting a javelin with his upraised right hand.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri charging, as on No. 1. Legend the same. In field to right No. 3 monogram.

10. ○ Æ 4. *Obolus.* Author, 7 grs. Unique. Plate V., Fig. 9.

Obv.—Winged figure of Victory to right, holding out a wreath in her right hand.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri charging, as on No. 1. Legend below indistinct —— AT ——. In field to right the letter B.

11. ○ Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* General Abbott, 34·5 grs. Unique. Plate V., Fig. 10. Thomas, in Num. Chron. N.S., IV. 204.

Obv.—Helmeted head of the king, as on No. 1. Legend disposed as on the reverse of No. 1, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Rev.—Dismounted Dioscuri standing to front. In field to left a monogram framed of H with Y in centre, forming YTH. Arian legend disposed in the same manner as the Greek legend of the obverse, *Maharajasa mahatakasa Evukratidasa.* This is the only silver coin of Eukratides with an Arian legend. Wilson's square silver coin (Ariana Antiqua, No. 8, p. 239) is a forged cast of a common copper coin. Plate VI., Fig. 2.

12. □ Æ 5. *Lepton?* Author, 31 grs. Unique. Plate V., Fig. 11.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right.

Rev.—Egg caps and palms of the Dioskuri. Legend in two perpendicular lines, as on the silver oboli, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. In field below No. 98 monogram, and the letter E reversed.

13. □ Æ 5. *Lepton.* Author, 46 grs. Plate V., Fig. 12. Thomas, No. 12.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

14. ○ Æ .7. *Chalkos?* Jour. des Sav., April, 1836, vignette, and p. 270; copied in Ariana Antiqua, pl. iii., 7. Unique. Thomas, No. 8.

Obv.—Laurelled head of Apollo to right.

Rev.—Horse standing to left. Legend in two horizontal lines, as on No. 3, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (ΕΥ)ΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

15. ○ Æ 6. *Chalkos.* British Museum, 42 grs. Plate V., Fig. 14. Unique. Thomas, No. 11.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right.

Rev.—Single horseman at charge to right. Legend disposed as on No. 7, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

16. ○ Æ 10. *Dichalkon.* Author, 108 grs. Plate VI., Fig. 1. Thomas, No. 9.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri charging to right. Legend disposed as on No. 1. In field to right No. 41 monogram.

17. □ Æ. *Dichalkon.* Köhler Méd. de la Bactriane, quoted in Mionnet, Suppt. viii., 470. Thomas, No. 10.

Obv.—Helmeted head to left, with upraised right hand darting a javelin.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri charging. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

18. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon.* Author, 132 grs.; average of sixteen good specimens. Very common. Plate VI., Fig. 2. Thomas, No. 13.

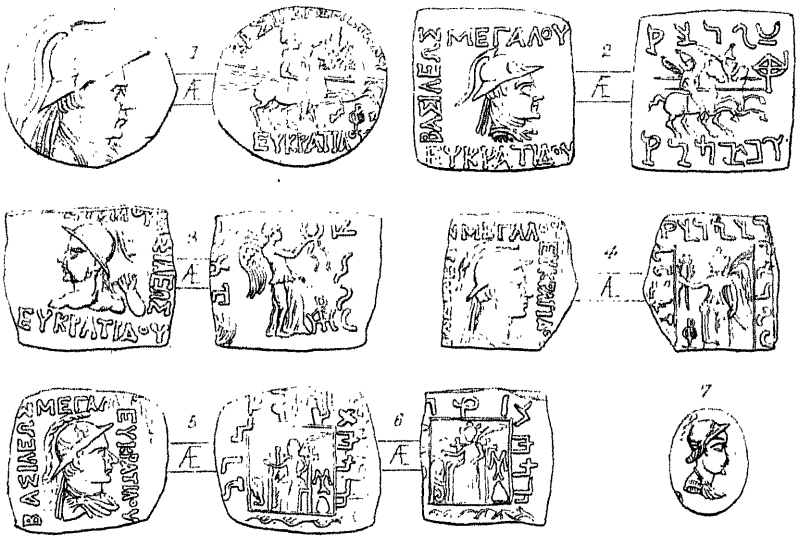
Obv.—Helmeted head to right. Greek legend as on the last.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri charging to right. Arian legend in two horizontal lines, *Maharajasa Evukratidasa.* In the field to right No. 18 monogram.

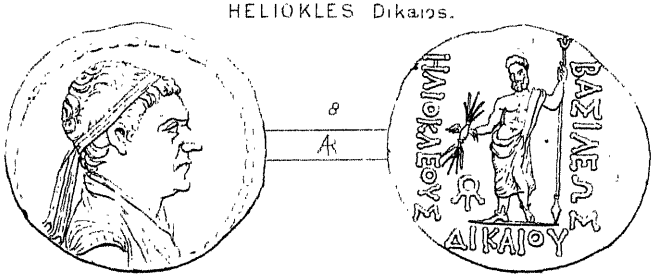
18a. □ Æ 7. *Chalkos.* Author, average of five specimens, 63·4 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 18.

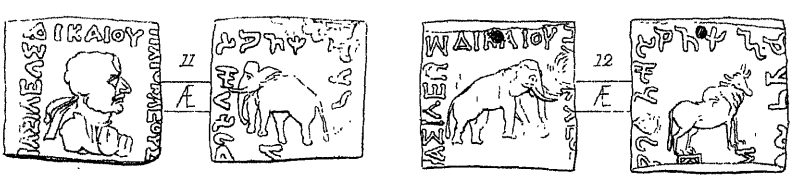
EUKRATIDES the Great.



HELIOKLES Dikaios.







F. J. Lees.

PLATE VI.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

18b. □ Æ 5. *Lepton.* Author, average of five specimens, 33·9 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 18.

19. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon.* India Museum, 130 grs. Unique. Plate VI., Fig. 3. See Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxi., fig. 5. Thomas, No. 15.

Obv.—Helmeted head to right, with upraised arm about to dart a javelin, as on Nos. 9 and 17. Greek legend as on No. 17.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory to right, with palm branch and wreath. In field to right a monogram like No. 98, but with the middle stroke extended upwards, to form the letter P. Arian legend in two horizontal lines, as on No. 18.

20. □ Æ 7. *Chalkos.* Author, average of four coins 64·25 grs. Plate VI., Fig. 4. Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxi., fig. 6. Rare. Thomas, No. 16.

Obv.—Helmeted head to right, with Greek legend as on No. 17.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory to left, with palm branch and wreath. In field to left No. 41 monogram. The whole surrounded by a square. Arian legend in three lines, *Maharajasa rajadirajasa Kukratidasa.* This is the only type on which the title of *rajadiraja*, or king of kings, is found.

21. □ Æ 9. *Chalkos.* Author, mean of two coins, 6[illegible]·5 grs. Plate VI. Fig. 5. Very rare. Duplicates, author, Plate VI. Fig. 6. Ariana Antiqua, pl. iii., fig. 11. Author's unpublished plates. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right, with usual Greek legend as on No. 17.

Rev.—Seated figure of Zeus to the front, with a palm branch over the left shoulder, and holding out a wreath in his right hand towards the forepart of an elephant. In the field to left a conical object, surmounted by No. 50 monogram. The whole enclosed in a square. Arian legend in three lines outside, incomplete; but by collation with other specimens it appears to be *Karisiye nagara devata*, "the god of the city of Karisi," but the last word is very doubtful. It is quite certain, however, that this legend does not contain either the

name of Eukratides, or any known title. The fourth side, below, is occupied by a line of ornament.

The first of these two coins, Plate VI., Fig. 5, would have given the whole of this curious legend complete had the reverse been better struck; but owing to imperfect mintage the whole of the well-known Arian legend of Apollodotus is clearly legible on the same three sides of the coin, and in somewhat larger characters—*Maharajasa Apaladatasa tradatasa.* The second coin, Fig. 6, wants the third word of the Arian legend, which has been restored from a comparison of the few other specimens at present known.

COINS OF HELIOKLES. Dikaios.

1. O Æ 14. *Tetradrachma.* Author, 260 grs. Duplicates, British Museum, 259·6 grs.; Mr. Bayley, and others. Plate VI., Fig. 8. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with draped shoulder, surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading.

Rev.—Half-draped figure of Zeus standing to the front, holding a spear in his left hand, and a winged thunderbolt in his right hand. In the field to left No. 61 monogram. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Several specimens have the letters ΠΓ in the exergue, which I take to be the date 83 of the Bactrian æra, which, deducted from 247, gives 164 B.C. Other monograms are Nos. 8, 10, 29, and 94.

1a. O Æ 8. *Drachma.* Author, 62 grs.

Same types and legend as No. 1. In the field No. 14 monogram. Two specimens have ΠΓ in *exergue.*

2. ○ Æ 11. *Tetradrachma.* Major Hay, quoted by Thomas, No. 2. Duplicate, author, apparently a forged cast, its weight being only 214 grs. See Plate IV. Fig. 9, for type.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right, with the shoulder draped, and ends of the diadem floating behind. The whole surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading.

Rev.—Zeus seated to left, holding a spear in his left hand, and a small Victory in his right hand. Legend in three lines, as on No. 1.

2a. ○ Æ 7. *Drachma.* Mr. E. C. Bayley. Plate VI., Fig. 9. Duplicate, Major Hay. Thomas, No. 3.

Types and legend as on No. 2.

3. ○ Æ 10. *Didrachma.* General Abbott, 146·3 grs. Plate VI., Fig, 10. Unique. Thomas, in Jour. Royal Asiat. Soc., xx., pl. ii., fig. 5.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with the shoulder draped. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, the name being placed immediately below the bust.

Rev.—Half-draped figure of Zeus, with spear and winged thunderbolt, as on No. 1. In field to left No. 101 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa dhamikasa Heliyakreyasa*, the name being placed immediately below the figure of Jupiter.

3a. ○ Æ 6. *Hemidrachma.* 32 grs. Stacy Collection in Museum Bengal Asiat. Soc., British Museum, India Museum, General Abbott, Mr. E. C. Bayley. See Thomas, No. 4.

Types and legend the same as on No. 3. Monograms, Nos. 16, 17, and 61.

4. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* British Museum, 128 grs., from author. Plate VI., Fig. 11. Duplicates, Royal Asiat. Soc., India Museum, General Van Cortlandt, and others. Thomas, No. 5.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Indian elephant moving to left. Letter Σ below monogram. Arian legend in three lines, *Maharajasa dhamikasa Heliyakreasa.* On other specimens the name is variously rendered as *Heliya-*

kresasa and *Heliyakraasa* (Thomas) with Nos. 17 and 65 monograms. The specimen engraved is struck upon a coin of Straton, a portion of the original Arian legend [illegible] on the reverse, as *sa Strata*, [illegible] *tradatasa Stratasa*.

5. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Author, 138 grs. Plate VI., Fig. 12. Duplicate, General Van Cortlandt. Thomas No. 7.

Obv.—Indian elephant moving to right. Legend in three lines, as on No. 4.

Rev.—Indian humped bull to right. In field below No. 25 monogram with Σ. General Van Cortlandt's coin has No. 26 monogram with Σ. Arian legend in three lines, as on No. 4.

Eukratides the Great.

The early career of Eukratides has already been discussed in my account of Demetrius. I need, therefore, only now repeat that I suppose him to have rebelled against his sovereign about B.C. 190, and that a few years later he finally succeeded in making himself the independent ruler of Bactriana and of the Upper Paropamisadæ, or district of Kabul. I have also supposed that the success of his revolt was partly secured by the simultaneous defection of Antimachus II., Nikephoros, the Satrap of the Lower Paropamisadæ, or the united districts of Jalâlâbâd and Peshâwar. Of his subsequent career we have only a few curt notices of Strabo and Justin to assist us in sketching the probable outline of a long reign of twenty or twenty-five years.

According to Strabo the Parthians deprived both Eukratides and the Scythians of a part of Bactriana by force of arms;[4] and in another passage he describes the

[4] Geogr., xi., 9, 2. Ἀφειλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος, Βιασάμενος τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν.

territory taken from Eukratides as the satrapy of Aspiones and Turiva.[5] From Justin also we learn that the Bactrians under Eukratides had been harassed and weakened by several wars with Sogdians, Drangians, and Indians before they were conquered by the weaker Parthians.[6] Now this expression of the "weaker" Parthians fixes the period of the Bactrian campaign early in the reign of Mithridates, as the term could not have been applied to the Parthian kingdom after the annexation of Media, Hyrkania, and Elymaïs. This indeed is Justin's own view of the relative dates of these events, as he makes the acquisition of the three provinces either subsequent to or nearly contemporaneous with the murder of Eukratides.[7] We know from other sources that the conquest of Elymaïs must have been subsequent to B.C. 165, as in that year the province belonged to Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, when he made his unsuccessful attempt to plunder the famous temple of the goddess Anaïtis.

The conclusive determination of this point is of the greatest importance to Bactrian history, as it places the death of Eukratides some years before the Parthian capture of Babylon in B.C. 153 or 152,[8] during the war between Demetrius I. of Syria and Alexander Balas. Bayer has assigned the death of Eukratides to the year

[5] Geogr., xi., 11, 2. Ὧν τὴν τε Ἀσπιώνου καὶ τὴν Τουριούαν ἀφῄρηντο Εὐκρατίδην οἱ Παρθυαῖοι.

[6] Hist., xli., 6. "Sogdianorum, et Drangianorum, Indorumque bellis fatigati, ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis, velut exsangues, oppressi sunt."

[7] Hist., xli., 6. "Dum hæc apud Bactros geruntur, interim inter Parthos et Medos bellum oritur . . . ad postremum victoria penes Parthos fuit. His viribus auctus Mithridates . . . in Hyrcaniam proficiscitur. Unde reversus bellum cum Elymæorum rege gessit, quo victo hanc quoque gentem regno adjecit."

[8] Orosius.

B.C. 146;[9] but he was led to this conclusion by his reading of a monogram as forming the letters HP, or 108, which, deducted from B.C. 255, the presumed period of the establishment of the Bactrian monarchy, gave the year 148 B.C. for the date of the coin. But dates are never expressed in monograms, which are capable of being read in several different ways. Thus Bayer's monogram may also be read as forming the letters HIP, or 118; and this vagueness is fatal to his assumed date of 148 B.C. for the coin.

Wilson in one place has adopted Bayer's date, which he erroneously quotes as B.C. 147, while in another place he assigns 155 B.C. for the death of Eukratides.[10] Raoul Rochette and General de Bartholomei prefer 155 B.C.,[11] while Lassen has adopted the still earlier date of 160 B.C.[12] The date that I have assumed is B.C. 165, which is partly determined by the earlier date of B.C. 190, assigned from his accession, partly by my reading of the detached letters ΠΓ on the coins of Heliokles as forming the date 83, or B.C. 164; and partly by an impression that the campaign of Antiochus IV. in Upper Asia in B.C. 165—64 may have been instigated by the solicitations of the sons of Eukratides for assistance against the Parthians. The portraits on the coins of Eukratides do not show the same marked disparities of age as those of Euthydemus. I disagree therefore with Bayer and Wilson in assigning him a reign of thirty-five years, and prefer the shorter period of about twenty-five years, which is given to him by the general consent of modern writers. This will fix his reign to the period between B.C. 190 and 165.

[9] Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., p. 44.
[10] Ariana Antiqua, pp. 235-262, and p. 266.
[11] Jour. des Sav., Oct., 1835, p. 170.
[12] Indische Alterthumskunde, II., xxiv.

The principal events in the reign of Eukratides are contained in the brief passages of Justin and Strabo, which have already been quoted. They may be summarily stated as follows:—1. Harassing and exhausting wars with the Sogdians, Drangians, and Indians. 2. An unsuccessful campaign with the Parthians, in which he lost the satrapy of the Aspionos and Turiva. 3. A final triumphant campaign against the Indians, on returning from which he was murdered by his son.

The campaign of Eukratides against the Drangians I take to be his war with Demetrius, who would appear to have held Drangiana and Arachosia as an independent kingdom for several years after he was deprived of Bactriana by Eukratides, or from B.C. 190 to 180.

The Sogdians with whom the Bactrian king contended must have been the Sacæ-Scythians, who had been previously held in check with much difficulty by Euthydemus and his son Demetrius. The revolt of Eukratides, and his prolonged hostilities with Demetrius on one side, and with the Greek princes of India on the other, gave the Scythians a favourable opportunity for the occupation of Sogdiana, of which they doubtless took immediate advantage. This event I would assign to the period between B.C. 180 and 170, after which time the Greek dominion to the north of the Caucasus was limited to Bactria proper and Margiana, or the two provinces lying to the south of the Oxus. To this period I would assign the foundation of the Greek city of *Eukratidia* in Bactria, which, according to Strabo, derived its name from King Eukratides.[13] The position of Eukratidia was most probably at Khulm, as Ptolemy places it on a river, at a

[13] Geogr., xi., 11, 2. Εὐκρατιδία τὸν ἄρξαντος ἐπώνυμος.

short distance to the south-east of Zariaspa, or Balkh, the ancient capital of Bactria.

The Indian wars of Eukratides must have been waged with the Greek princes of the Indian provinces of Peukelaotis, or the Lower Kabul valley, of which the capital was Pushkalavati, or Pukhalaoti, the modern Hashtnagar, which I suppose to have been renamed as *Demetrias*, and to be represented by the monogram No. 58. The founder of this kingdom was most probably Antimachus II. Nikephoros, and with him and his successors Nikias and Philoxenes, as well as with Lysias and Antialkidas, the presumed successors of Demetrius, the Bactrian king must have been engaged in continual hostilities. This view is supported by the fact that the monograms of the eastern cities, *Dionysopolis* (No. 18) and *Demetrias* (No. 58), are found on the coins of Eukratides, as well as on those of the Indian Greek princes; while the monogram of the western city of *Kartana*, near Alexandria (No. 17), which is used by Eukratides, does not occur on the coins of Antimachus, while it is found on a few coins of Philoxenes and Lysias, and on many of Antialkidas. According to this view the monograms serve to show the changing fortunes of these Greek princes, as I conclude that Philoxenes and Lysias must have held at least temporary possession of Kartana, when their coins were impressed with the monogram No. 17, which forms the letters KAP. This is confirmed by the actual discovery of a few coins of Lysias on the plain of Begram. The hold of the Western Kabul valley by Antialkidas must have been of longer duration, as one-fourth of his coins are impressed with the monogram of Kartana, while no less than thirty-seven specimens of his copper money were obtained by Masson from the plain of

Begram. On the other hand, we know that while many thousands of the coins of Eukratides have been discovered at Begram, one-fifth of them bear the monogram of Demetrias, and one-tenth of them that of Dionysopolis.

Under this view, the statement of Strabo that Eukratides possessed one thousand cities in India,[14] must refer to the latter end of his reign, after he had put down all competitors, and had become the sole master of Alexander's Indian dominions. Wilson, indeed, has denied his Indian sovereignty altogether, on the ground that it is "not confirmed by the discovery of his coins in the Panjab;" and although he afterwards contradicts himself[15] by affirming that "the collections of Ventura, Honigberger, and Court offer *equally abundant specimens procured in the Panjab*, and towards Kabul and Peshawur," it is certain that his original statement is much nearer the truth, as I am able to vouch, from my own experience, that the coins of Eukratides, which Masson found in thousands at Begram, are rare in the Panjab. I can add also that in Captain Hasell's and Major Nuthall's collections, which were made between Peshawur and Lahore during the Afghan campaign, there was not a single coin of Eukratides, whilst of Apollodotus and Menander there were numerous specimens. On the other hand, the coins of Eukratides in the collections of Lady Sale, Lieut. Combe, and Dr. Chapman, were all procured at Kabul and Begram, or from Bokhara and Badakshan, while those of Stacy and Hutton were obtained in Kandahar and Sistan.

All the evidence which I have adduced tends to show

[14] Geogr., xv., 1, 3. Εὐκρατίδαν γοῦν πόλεις χιλίας ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν.

[15] Compare Ariana Antiqua, pp. 235 and 241.

that the Indian empire of Eukratides was not established until towards the close of his reign, and that his Indian wars must have been waged with the Greek princes of the Lower Kabul valley and Panjab, and not with the native princes of the country. The evidence also tends to show that the warfare on his Indian frontier must have been nearly continuous throughout the whole period of his reign. I am therefore inclined to attribute the Parthian war, and the consequent loss of the satrapy of the Aspiones and Turiva, to the close of his reign, when Antialkidas, being closely pressed by Eukratides, would naturally have solicited the assistance of the Parthian king. To this call I suppose that Mithridates at once responded by the invasion of Margiana, which ended in the permanent annexation of the satrapy of the Aspiones and Turiva to the Parthian empire. This event I suppose to have taken place between B C. 170 and 168, just before the final subjection of Antialkidas, and before the Parthian conquests of Media, Hyrkania, and Elymaïs, while the Parthian kingdom might still be justly considered "weaker" than that of Bactria.

According to Justin, the conquest of India was the last act of the reign of Eukratides, as he was murdered by his son whilst on his return march. The words of Justin are explicit—*Indiam in potestatem redegit*, "he reduced India under his authority." He had therefore succeeded in suppressing all competitors, and the last of the Greek kings of Peukelaotis must either have been removed, or have become tributary. This prince I believe to have been Antialkidas, all of whose silver coins bear the same type of the Olympic Zeus, with a figure of Victory in his right hand, extending a wreath to an Indian elephant. Now this very type was adopted by

Eukratides himself on his latest coins, one of which, engraved in Plate VI., Fig. 5, is struck upon an Apollodotus. It will be observed also that, contrary to the usual practice, the Arian legend on the reverse of this coin is not a translation of the Greek legend of the obverse, but is altogether different. Unfortunately, these coins are extremely rare, and the legend is imperfect on the few specimens that I have seen. But the reading of the first two words I take to be certain, and that of the last word is the preferable rendering of the imperfect legends of five different coins. I read the whole as *Karişiye nagara devata*, or, "the god of the city of *Karisi*," the last word only being doubtful. If this reading be correct, then the god of the city of Karisi must have been the Olympic Zeus holding a figure of Victory in his right hand.

The name of *Karisi* is not mentioned by any ancient writer, but it seems probable that it must be the same place as *Kalasi*, the birthplace of the famous Raja Milindu.[16] In another passage of the same Buddhist book, he is said to have been born at *Alasanda*, or Alexandria, the capital of the *Yona*, or Greek country. Kalasi must therefore have been either Alexandria itself, or some place close to it. Now in A.D. 641, the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, on leaving the capital of Kapisa to the north of Kabul, was accompanied by the king for seven miles to *Kiu-lu-sa-pang*,[17] which would appear to be intended for *Kalasi* or *Karisi*. The same name may also be read in the opening of Ventura's Manikyala inscription as *Karisia chhatrapasa*, "of the satrap of

[16] Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, pp. 440 and 516.
[17] Julien's Hwen Thsang, i., 266.

Karisi." I would therefore identify the place with the *Cartana* of Pliny,[18] and the *Karsana* of Ptolemy, which he fixes to the north of the Kophes, or Kabul River.[19] Now, in the very position indicated by all these authorities, Masson places a ruined city, named *Koratâs*,[20] which he describes as lying six miles to the north-east of Begrâm, and to the east of the Regh-Rawân, or "Flowing Sand." This town I take to have been the favourite residence of the Greek kings, from the time of Antimachus I. to the beginning of the reign of Menander. It was the birth-place of Raja Milindu, whom I believe to be Menander himself. The other name of *Tetragonis*, or the "Square," which is mentioned by Pliny, shows that the place was a fortified town, the remembrance of which is still preserved in the name of *Kilah Kâfir*, or the "Infidel's Fort," which is applied to the ruins of Koratâs by the Muhammadan population of the district.

The coins of Eukratides may be divided into three groups, according to their types; the first referring to the worship of Apollo, the second to the Dioskuri, and the third to Victory. The name of his father, Heliokles, suggests the probability that the sun-god was the special object of worship in his family, and the inference is raised almost to a certainty by the fact that the coins bearing the type of Apollo are undoubtedly his earliest mintage.[21]

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[18] Nat. Hist., vi., 25. "Cartana oppidum sub Caucaso, quod postea Tetragonis dictum."

[19] In the brief geographical abstract prefixed to this series of papers on the Bactrian coins, I have identified Pliny's *Cartana*, as well as Ptolemy's *Karsana*, with the ruins of Begram. But since my reading of the name of *Karisi* on the coins of Eukratides, I have given up these identifications in favour of Koratas.

[20] Travels in Biluchistan, &c., iii., 166.

[21] This also was the opinion of Raoul Rochette, whose authority is of the greatest weight on such a point. Speaking

The portrait is that of a young man, accompanied by the simple title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The usual monogram on this class of coins is No. 24, which may be read either as Heliopolis, or as *Heliokleia*, the probable name of some city founded by his father.

The type of the Dioskuri was adopted while Eukratides still bore the simple title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; but this was soon rejected for the more ambitious title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, or the Great King, which he continued to use until the close of his reign. On a few of the earlier coins of this class the king's head is bare; but on the greater number, both in silver and in copper, the head is covered with a helmet, which is ornamented with the curious device of the ear and horn of a bull. I suspect, however, that the ear is that of a horse, which, combined with the bull's horn, may have some reference to Alexander's famous steed Bukephalus. But as the same horn and ear are found on the helmeted coins of Seleukus Nikator, where they belong to the hairy bull's skin with which the helmet is covered, it is probable that the device may have no special significance. I am aware also that there still exist many Greek helmets of bronze which are ornamented with horses' ears of metal. But as the helmet of Eukratides has no appearance of hair, it is possible that the bull's ear and horn may be symbolic of the great strength of the wearer.

The type of the Dioskuri, with exactly the same treatment and action of the horses, is found on an early Parthian coin, which I agree with M. Longpérier in

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of the coins with the type of Apollo, he says that their style and fabric, as well as the simplicity of their legends, show "un règne plus ancien, plus voisin de l'époque d'Euthydème."—Jour. des Sav., 1834, p. 388.

assigning to Artabanus I. This coin also has a peculiar shape, being flat on the reverse, and convex on the obverse, with a rounded sloping edge, similar to that of the contemporary copper coins of Euthydemus. It is therefore several years anterior to the earliest mintage of Eukratides. On the silver oboli and smaller copper coins, the Dioskuri are represented only by their caps and palm branches. On the unique bilingual hemidrachma, with the type of the Dioskuri, Plate V., Fig. 10, the Arian legend for the first time offers a translation of the Greek ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ as *mahatakasa*, or "great." I think, therefore, that this coin is most probably the latest silver mintage of the reign of Eukratides.

The Dioskuri were orginally the tutelary divinities of Sparta, where they were worshipped as the Θεοὶ σωτῆρες, or "divine helpers" of mankind; and as the gods of battle, their aid was invoked in all times of difficulty and danger. It seems probable, therefore, that their aid may have been sought by Eukratides when he was closely besieged by Demetrius for five months, and that he attributed his escape to the timely assistance of the great Twin Brethren, whose images he afterwards placed on his coins. Under this view the type of Dioskuri would have been adopted shortly after the close of hostilities with Demetrius, or about 186 B.C. The earliest coins of this type are no doubt those with the bare head and simple title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, as seen in Figs. 2, 4, and 11 of Plate V. The next in age must be those with the helmeted head and simple title, as seen in Figs. 3 and 5 of the same Plate; while the latest, and by far the most numerous class, must be those with the helmeted head and the more ambitious title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, or the "Great King."

The type of Victory is confined to some rare copper coins of two kinds, which were undoubtedly the last mintages of Eukratides. On the less rare kind, Pl. VI., Fig. 4, of which there may be about twelve or fifteen specimens known, the figure of Victory is represented in the usual form, carrying a palm branch over her left shoulder and a wreath in her right hand. But the usual Arian title of Maharaja is extended to the more ambitious form of *Maharajasa rajadirajasa*, or the "great king — the king of kings," although the Greek title remains the same as before. On the rarer kind, Pl. VI., Figs. 5 and 6, of which only six specimens are known to me, the figure of Victory stands in the hand of the Olympic Zeus, and holds out a wreath towards an elephant with up-raised trunk.

All these Victory coins I would assign to the last few years of the reign of Eukratides, when he had become sole master of the eastern provinces of Alexander's empire, by the final overthrow of Antialkidas, and the consequent annexation of the Indian kingdom of Peukelaotis and Taxila.

The single coin, Pl. V., Fig. 9, with Victory on the obverse and the Dioskuri on the reverse, is attributed to Eukratides on the authority of the types alone, as the legend is imperfect. But as both of the types belong to Eukratides, and there is no Arian legend, I consider the attribution almost certain; and I am therefore prepared to accept it as a specimen of one of the latest silver mintages of Eukratides.

Heliokles. (Dikaios.)

The successor of Eukratides is mentioned only in a single passage of Justin, in describing the close of his Indian campaign. "He reduced India under his power.

From whence, as he was withdrawing himself, he is slain in his march by his son, whom he had made his partner in the kingdom; who without concealing the parricide, as if he had slain an enemy and not his father, he both drove his chariot through his blood and ordered his body to be thrown out unburied."[22] Mionnet first suggested that Heliokles was the parricidal son of Eukratides, and that he adopted the title of *Dikaios*, or the "Just," because he prided himself on the slaughter of his father, as that of an enemy. But this conclusion was contested by Raoul Rochette,[23] who says, somewhat contemptuously, "that it does not deserve to be seriously discussed, as no one has ever yet so braved public opinion, or so outraged both reason and humanity, as to pretend to cover a parricide by taking the title of Just."

Mionnet's view of the relationship of Heliokles to Eukratides was adopted by Wilson and Lassen, and has since been most unexpectedly confirmed by the discovery of the valuable coins bearing the heads of Heliokles and Laodike, the father and mother of Eukratides. For it was the usual practice amongst the Greeks to name one child of every family after its grandfather, and therefore it is highly probable that one of the children of Eukratides would have been named Heliokles. But this probability is raised to a certainty by the fact that we possess many silver coins of a king named Heliokles, which, from their fabric alone, have been assigned to the period imme-

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[22] Hist., xli., 6. "Indiam in potestam redegit. Unde cum se reciperet, a filio, quem socium regni fecerat, in itinere interficitur; qui non dissimulato parricidio, velut hostem, non patrem interfecisset, et per sanguinem ejus currum egit, et corpus abjici insepultum jussit."

[23] Jour. des Sav., 1836, p. 130, *note*. "Cette idée est si extraordinaire qu'elle ne comporte pas une discussion sérieuse."

diately following Eukratides.[24] But although I consider the relationship of Heliokles to Eukratides to be quite certain, yet I am not prepared to admit that he was the parricidal son of Eukratides, who had been made his partner in the kingdom.

So far back as 1840 I first published my opinion that Apollodotus was the eldest son of Eukratides.[25] This opinion was based on two facts which may be summarily stated as follows:—1. The common round silver coins, as well as several of the copper coins, of Apollodotus give the title of *Philopator*, which Jacquet conjectured would declare his father to have been a royal personage, for had he been in a private station his son would not have paid him so striking an honour. Raoul Rochette admits that this conjecture appears very plausible, and adds,[26] "But there is something more to be remarked here, which is, that on the coins of the kings of this part of the East, especially on those of the Arsakidæ, the epithet of *Philopator* indicates the association of a son in the royal title of the father." The comparative rarity of the Philopator coins would seem to show that these pieces were all struck during his association in the government with his father. 2. We know that Mithridates the Great, of Parthia,

[24] Mionnet, viii., 470, founded the relationship of father and son on this fact; and Raoul Rochette himself admits that Heliokles must have been a contemporary of his Eukratides II., the son of Eukratides I.; "On ignore l'époque précise, mais dont le règne doit avoir été contemporain de celui d'Eucratide II.; à en juger d'après la fabrique de leurs médailles."—Jour. des Sav., 1836, p. 130, *note*.

[25] Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1840, pp. 869, 870.

[26] Jour. des Sav., Oct., 1835, p. 579. "Cette conjecture me paraît très-plausible; mais il y avait quelque chose de plus à remarquer ici: c'est que sur les monnaies des rois de cette partie de l'Orient, notamment sur celles des Arsacides, l'épithète *Philopator* indique l'association d'un fils au titre royal du père."

wrested Drangiana and Arachosia from the Eastern Greeks, either during the latter end of the reign of Eukratides or shortly after the accession of his son. Now there are found in those countries the coins of only four Greek princes, Euthydemus, Demetrius, Eukratides, and Apollodotus, agreeing exactly with the number of princes to whom the possession of Drangiana and Arachosia can be assigned from the brief notices of ancient authors. These are Euthydemus and his son Demetrius, and Eukratides and his associated son, whose name has not been recorded. This last prince must therefore be Apollodotus.

To these arguments I may now add the still more convincing fact that one of the latest coins of Eukratides (engraved as Fig. 5, Plate VI.) is actually struck upon an Apollodotus, every letter of whose Arian legend, *Maharajasa Apaladatasa tradatasa*, is still distinctly legible.

This last evidence seems to be quite incontestable, as it shows that Apollodotus not only bore the title of king, but that he actually struck money in his own name during the lifetime of Eukratides. The first issue of his coins I would limit to the rarer specimens with the title of Philopator, which I suppose him to have dropped shortly before the murder of his father, and to have retained only the title of Soter, which is found on the coin re-struck with the name and titles of Eukratides.

According to my view Apollodotus was the eldest son of Eukratides, and accompanied his father in the Indian campaign, while his younger brother, Heliokles, was left in charge of Bactriana. Both of these sons I suppose to have been born during the early career of Eukratides, while he was still a worshipper of Apollo, after whom the eldest son must have been named. If Apollodotus was

born in B.C. 188, he would have been twenty years of age in 168, at the beginning of the last Indian campaign, at which time I suppose him to have been associated as a partner in the kingdom with his father. The younger son, Heliokles, would therefore have been about nineteen years of age when he was left in the government of Bactriana.

On the murder of Eukratides by his eldest son, Apollodotus, I suppose that Heliokles refused to acknowledge his sovereignty, and declared himself independent in Bactriana. I am also inclined to think that he may have assumed the title of *Dikaios*, or the "Just," as the proclaimed avenger of his father's murder. About the same time also I suppose that Straton, who was probably a third son of Eukratides, made himself master of Peukelaotis and Taxila, partly in his own right and partly in right of his wife Agathokleia, whom I take to have been either the daughter, or perhaps the granddaughter of Demetrius. That Straton was a contemporary of Heliokles is proved by one of the coins of the latter (engraved as Fig. 11, Plate VI.), which is struck upon a coin of Straton, whose name in Arian characters is still legible on the reverse. The dominions of Apollodotus would thus have been confined to the Paropamisadæ on the north, with Ariana and Patalene on the south, or Kabul, Afghanistan, and Sindh, within which limits his coins are now found in considerable numbers. But I must postpone the history of Apollodotus for the present to follow the fortunes of Heliokles, who was the last of the Greek kings of Bactriana.

Of the career of Heliokles we know absolutely nothing, as his name is not mentioned by any historian. But as his coins are the latest Greek money found to the north

of the Indian Caucasus, we may safely infer that he was the last Greek prince of Bactriana. We may accordingly apply to his reign the following statement of Strabo regarding the Scythian invasion of Bactriana:—"The best known tribes are those who deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, and Sakarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes, opposite the Sakæ and Sogdiani."[27] The same fact is also stated by Trogus, who ascribes the Scythian occupation of Bactriana and Sogdiana to the Saraucæ and Asiani. The period of this occupation is not stated; but as it immediately precedes the mention of the exploits of Apollodotus and Menander, it can only be ascribed to the reign of Heliokles.

In my account of Eukratides I have shown that the Scythians must already have occupied some part of Sogdiana during his lifetime. This agrees with the accounts of the Chinese writers, who fix the year B.C. 163 as the exact date of the occupation of Bactria and Sogdiana by the Scythian Sus and Yuechi, or Sacæ and Tochari. If, therefore, the murder of Eukratides took place in B.C. 165, as I have assigned it, his son Heliokles must have come into collision with the Scythians in the very first years of his reign; and the invasion was most probably precipitated by the disturbed and weakened state of the Bactrian kingdom after the death of Eukra-

[27] Geogr., xi., 8, 2. Μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων δι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανὴν, Ἄσιοι, καὶ Πασιανοὶ, καὶ Τόχαροι, καὶ Σακάραυλοι, καὶ ὁρμη θέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου, τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι.

[28] Prolog. Frag. Pompeii, xli. "Deinde qua re pugnante Scythiæ gentes Saraucæ et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos. Deinde quoque res additæ gestæ per Appollodotum et Menandrum reges eorum."

tides. As the coins of Heliokles are scarce, his reign must have been a short one; and I would assign his final expulsion from Bactria to the year B.C. 162. I suppose that he then retired to the Caucasian Alexandria, to the north of Kabul, which he wrested from Apollodotus, and where he continued to reign for a few years, or till about B.C. 158.

The coins of Heliokles are of four distinct types, two in silver and two in copper. The common silver type is a standing figure of Zeus with spear and thunderbolt. On the earliest coins there is a Greek legend only, but the later coins have an Arian translation on the reverse. The other silver type presents a seated figure of Zeus holding out a small Victory. The coins of this type are extremely rare. All the copper coins are square. The common kind offers a bust of the king, with an elephant on the reverse. The rarer kind has the same elephant on the obverse, and a humped bull on the reverse. There are also many barbarous coins of copper, of the same size and the same type as the early tetradrachms; but these are no doubt Scythian imitations; and they thus afford another proof that Heliokles was the last Greek king of Bactriana.

Several of the copper coins of Heliokles are remarkable for the traces of previous mintage, of which one (see Plate VI. Fig. 11) was certainly a Straton, a second was probably a Philoxenes, and a third is not distinguishable. These imperfect mintages imply haste, which would indicate a temporary mint, and a very insecure tenure of power.

The monograms of Heliokles are very varied for the small number of his coins. The commonest, No. 71, which occurs on seven specimens, I am unable to read.

It forms the letters ΔΙΡΚΗ or ΚΙΡΚΗΔ, and is most probably intended for some place in Bactria, as it is found only on the silver tetradrachms. Two other tetradrachms offer No. 29 monogram, which I read as *Samangân*, or Heibak, an ancient town to the north of the Caucasus, which was probably the Bactra Regia of Ptolemy. All these nine tetradrachms are thus referred to Bactria; but there are two others that bear No. 8 monogram, which I read doubtfully as *Opiane*, or Alexandria of the Paropamisadæ. Four coins have No. 139, or *Ophiana*; two give *Nikaia*, or Kabul; and one alone gives *Kapisa*, or Kushân. All these places were to the south of the Caucasus, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Paropamisan Alexandria. The readings of the monograms thus correspond with the probable history of Heliokles, which I have traced from other sources.

XVI.

ON A HOARD OF COINS FOUND ON TOWER HILL.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 16th, 1869.]

At the beginning of March last the workmen engaged in sinking the shaft for the new subway under the Thames, when they had arrived at a depth of fourteen feet from the surface, at Tower Hill, came on a hoard of silver coins, lying among a little sand in a hollow in the London clay. A load of rubbish had already been removed from the spot before any of the coins were noticed, and there is reason to believe that a considerable number of them had been taken away with it. Those which remained were all lying close together, as if they had been buried in a bag, of which however no traces remained. The soil above was all made-ground, and contained a few oyster-shells and bones of deer, and also a large quantity of brass pins, about eight feet from the surface.

For these particulars I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Prestwich, F.R.S., the Chairman of the Thames Subway Company; who also kindly placed in my hands for examination the whole of the coins which were found. They have since been claimed as treasure-trove by the Solicitor to the Treasury, under a mischievous law that has come down to us from semi-barbarous times, and which yearly

causes the destruction and concealment of numerous antiquities. Before handing them over to the Treasury I made an examination of the coins, which consisted of 215 pennies, 72 halfpennies, and 19 farthings, the latter being literally half and quarter pennies, formed by cutting up the larger coins.

With but two exceptions, the whole are of the long-cross coinage of Henry III., struck at various mints, including three from that of Dublin. The two not struck by this king are of the earlier coinage of Alexander III. of Scotland, and also of the long-cross type. The annexed list shows the different varieties and the number of specimens of each.

It is well known that this long-cross coinage was first issued under Henry III., about the year 1247 or 1248, the coinage of the early part of his reign having been of the short-cross type. The long-cross type would appear to have continued in use until the year 1279, or the seventh year of Edward I., who not improbably continued to strike coins with his father's dies and in his father's name up to that time; and as the coins in the present hoard comprise all the known types of obverse of Henry III., and as there is a complete absence of the earlier short-cross coins, and of the later coins of Edward I. with the plain solid cross, it would seem probable that the date of the deposit of the hoard was towards the close of the reign of Henry III., or possibly at the commencement of that of Edward I.; at all events, within a few years either way of the year 1270. Hawkins, who, however, assigns all the short-cross coins to Henry II., classes the long-cross coins under three heads:—

1. Those with the hand and sceptre dividing the legend.
2. Those without the hand and sceptre, and with a

mullet over the kings head, and reading, hENRICVS REX III. or TERCI.

3. Those like type 2, but having a crescent under the mullet, and reading, hENRICVS REX TNG.

It would appear from this arrangement that though, as Mr. Hawkins states, there were more coinages than one in this reign, and he knew of no sure means of separating one from the other, yet that, on the whole, he considered the types to have followed each other in this sequence.

Ruding, while rightly attributing a short-cross coinage to the early part of the reign of Henry III., and figuring the three types of the long-cross coinage, does not attempt to determine the order in which they were issued.

Nor, indeed, am I aware of any numismatic writer who has made such an attempt. It would appear as if the difficulty that formerly existed in determining to whom the short-cross coins were to be referred had diverted attention from the minor details of the long-cross type.

I therefore take this opportunity of saying a few words on the subject, though I must confess at the outset that I have not had sufficient time at my command to make complete comparative lists of the moneyers whose names occur on the different types, which would no doubt afford valuable evidence in the matter.

Looking at the three types, however, irrespective of the reverses, and bearing in mind that the long-cross coinage immediately succeeded the short-cross, the device on which was the king's head, with his hand holding the sceptre, and dividing the legend, there can be little doubt that Hawkins's type 1 was also the first in chronological order.

Contemporary historians, indeed, lead us to the same

conclusion. Matthew Paris, as quoted by Sainthill (Oll. Pod. i. 128), mentions that this coinage differed from the old in having the long-cross "in reliquis autem, pondere, capitali impressione, cum literato titulo permanente ut prius." Both he[1] and John de Walingforde[2] give in the margin of their Chronicles representations of the reverse of the coins, but not, I believe, of the obverse. Sir Henry Ellis, in his Preface to "John of Oxenedes' Chronicle," published by the Master of the Rolls, states that they give representations of both sides of the coin, and refers to the MSS. in the British Museum. Mr. Head, however, has obligingly consulted both of the MSS. for me, and it appears that in neither case is the obverse of the coins drawn.

John of Oxenedes also gives a sketch of the reverse only, but remarks,[3] "Altera vero denarii pars pristinam retinet impressionem." We may therefore accept these coins with the sceptre as the earliest of long-cross types.

They were principally struck at the mints of Canterbury and London—indeed, according to Mr. Hawkins, exclusively so. Mr. Sainthill[4] and Mr. Haigh have, however, shown that such coins were also issued from the mints of Durham, Lincoln, Oxford, Shaftesbury or St. Edmund's Bury and York; or precisely those mints from which the short-cross pennies of Henry III., which were among the Eccles hoard, were issued, with the addition of Lincoln and York. The coin from the latter mint is however marked by Mr. Haigh with a quære.

The only argument against regarding this as the

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[1] MS. Reg., c. vii. 142.
[2] Cott. MS., Jul., c. vii. 96.
[3] Chronica Jo. de Oxenedes, 1859, p. 160.
[4] Olla Podrida, vol. i. 129, &c.

earliest type is to be derived from the curious coins, like Hawkins's No. 288, which, though having the sceptre, show the king's head with wavy curls, as on those of the Edwards.

It remains to consider which of the other varieties is the earlier in point of date. I must however suggest the propriety of considering the coins reading RꞒX TꞒRCI as belonging to a different coinage from those reading RꞒX III., though both are without the sceptre, and have the mullet M.M. There can be no doubt of those reading RꞒX ΠNG, with the mullet or star and crescent, belonging to yet another issue, so that in all we have four types or varieties, three of which are without the sceptre.

Looking at these, irrespective of any other evidence than that afforded by the coins themselves, it appears probable that the simpler device of the mullet preceded the more complicated crescent and star; and that inasmuch as the coins reading RꞒX ΠNG present closer analogies with those reading RꞒX TꞒRCI, with the crescent and star, than with those reading RꞒX III., these latter are the first in chronological order, the TꞒRCI coins second, and the ΠNG coins last. These latter occasionally complete the legend by carrying it on the reverse, as—LIꞒ TꞒRCI LON, or LIꞒ TꞒRCI CΠNT; and thus, not only present analogies with the coins of Edward I. in the title of RꞒX ΠNG, but also in omitting the name of the moneyers, and giving merely that of the town, a custom which, with but trifling exceptions, prevailed in all subsequent reigns.

The coinages of the TꞒRCI and ΠNG types appear to have been but to a limited amount; and in the hoard now under consideration there were but four coins reading TꞒRCI, and but two reading ΠNG; whereas there are 64

coins with the mullet M.M. and III. These seem to have suffered almost to the same extent by wear as the coins with the sceptre, for there was hardly a perceptible difference between the weights of 20 of each sort taken at hazard. The limited amount of the coinage of the TꝂRCI and ΠNG pieces is quite in accordance with their dating from the latter part of the reign of Henry III., and possibly the commencement of that of Edward I.; for had any large number of coins been issued during that period, the great recoinage which we know to have taken place in 1279, would hardly have been necessary. Another argument in favour of these being the latest types is afforded by the fact of the halfpence and farthings in the hoard being, so far as I can ascertain, all cut from the coins with the sceptre and those with the mullet and III. in about equal proportions.

These halves and quarters could hardly have been cut by the owner of the hoard, and they therefore probably had taken some length of time to accumulate in so large a proportion, and the coins from which they were cut must, in that case, have been some time in circulation.

With regard to the date of the second coinage of the long-cross pennies, or those with the mullet and III., it seems possible that it may have taken place soon after the expiration of the privilege of coinage, which Henry granted to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, for twelve years, commencing in 1247.

Coins struck by WILLꝂM, at London, whose name occurs on the gold pennies issued in 1257, are known with RꝂX · III., both with and without the sceptre; but I have never seen any of his coins with TꝂRCI or ΠNG, so that they were probably struck after he had ceased to be a moneyer.

To recapitulate, I suggest that the different types of the long-cross coins of Henry III. were issued in the following order:—

1. Those with the sceptre on the obverse, in the same manner as it appears on the short-cross coins.

2. Those without the sceptre, having the mullet M.M., and reading RꝼX III.

3. Those of similar character, but reading RꝼX TꝼRCI.

4. Those with the crescent and mullet M.M., and reading RꝼX ANG.

JOHN EVANS.

LIST OF COINS FOUND AT TOWER HILL.

TYPE I.—hꝼNRICVS RꝼX III'. Sceptre.

LONDON.

DAVI ON LVNDꝾN	3	
hꝼNRI ON LVNDꝼ	8	Various ligatures of letters.
IOhS ON LVNDꝾN	2	
NICOLꝼ ON LVND	2	
RꝾNVLD ON LVND	34	
RICÆRD ON LVND	11	
WÆTꝼR ON LVND	1	
WILLꝼM ON LVND	1	62

CANTERBURY.

AMBROCI ON CAN	. . . .	1	
ALCIN ON CANT	. . . .	3	
GILBERT ON CAN	. . . .	7	
IOhS ON CAN TER	. . . .	4	
ION ON CAN TER	. . . .	7	Various ligatures.
NICCOLE ON CANT	. . . .	10	
ROBERT ON CANT	. . . .	16	
WALTER ON CANT	. . . .	2	
WILLEM ON CANT	. . . .	16	66

SAINT EDMUND'S BURY.

ION ON SENTED	. . . . .	2	
RANDVLF ON S'ED	. . . .	3	5

DURHAM.

RICARD ONDVRh'	. . . .	1	1

UNCERTAIN.

		2	2

DOUBLE STRUCK.

		2	2

TYPE II.—No Sceptre.

CANTERBURY.

GILBERT ON CAN	. . . . .	2	
NICCOLE ON CANT	. . . .	9	11

LONDON.

DAVI ON LVNDEN	. . . .	2	
henRI ON LVND	. . . .	2	
henRI ON LVNDE	. . . .	3	
henRI ON LVND	. . . . .	1	
NICCOLE ON LVND	. . .	5	Some with ligatures.
			13

BRISTOL.

IΛCOB ONBRVST	1	1

CARLISLE.

ION ON CΛRLEL	2	
RCBERT ON CΛRL	1	3

EXETER.

PhILIP ON EXEC	1	
PhILIP —¯CEXT	1	2

LINCOLN.

ION ON LINCOLN	1	
RICΛRD ON LINC . . .	3	
WILLIEM ON LINC . . .	1	5

NORTHAMPTON.

TOMΛS ON MORhΛ . . .	3	
WILLEM ON NORh	2	5

NORWICH.

hVGE ON NORWIZ	1	
IΛCOB ONNORWI	2	
ION ON NORWIZ	1	
WILLEM ONNORW	1	5

OXFORD.

ADΛM ON OXONFO . . .	2	2

SALISBURY.

WΛLTER ON SERE	1	1

ST. EDMUND'S BURY.

ION ON S' EDMVND	1	1

SHREWSBURY.

LOREN ON SROS	1	
NICOLE ON SROS	1	
PERIS ON SROSE	1	3

WILTON.

hVGC ON WILTON 1		1

WINCHESTER.

hVGC ON WINChC 1		
(IVR) D/N ON WIN 1		
NICOLC ON WIN 2		
NICOLC ON WINC 1		5

YORK.

ICRCMIC ON CV 1		
ICRCMIC ON CVCR . . . 2		
RONER ON CVCRW 2		
TOM/S ON CVCR 1		6

TYPE III.—hCNRICVS RCX TRCI.

NICOLC ON LVND . . . 2		
NICOLC ON LVND 1		3
NICOLC ON C/NT 1		
GILBERT ON C/N 1		2

TYPE IV.—hCNRICVS RCX /NG. Crescent and star.

LIC TRCI' LON 1		
NICOLC ON LVND . . . 1		2

IRISH.

RIC/RD ONDIVC 3		3

ALEXANDER III. OF SCOTLAND.

/LCXNDCR RCX. Head l. with sceptre.		
IOH COR IN ONP. Lind. III. 66 1		
IOh/N ON BCR ,, III. 59 1		2
		215

Halfpence 72
Farthings 19

XVII.

ON THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE SILVER COINS OF HENRY IV., V., AND VI.

As a degree of uncertainty is supposed to attach to the order in which I took these coins in dealing with the pennies, or, admitting their order, to my division of them among the three kings, some aid towards piling Ossa on Pelion may be expected from me.

It may not be profitless to recall former aspects of the subject.

Not to trouble ourselves with the old fancies about eyelet-holes, we gather that, in 1736, the heavy coins of Henry IV. were practically unknown. Folkes says: "I have never yet seen any of these pieces that I could depend upon." But he engraves a peculiar light groat of that king, with the Roman N. It reads, like some groats of Richard II., DⱭI, instead of DI, and, like some of his half-groats, presents the English title ΠΠ6LIⱭ only.

Withy and Ryall, in 1756, publish another light groat, also reading DⱭI, but having the French title, and otherwise coming very near to Hawkins's No. 325. They also give a heavy groat, agreeing with Edward III.'s groats in presenting the Irish title, D. G., and an annulet in the ⱭIVI quarter, being, apparently, an altered groat of that same Edward of a type resembling Rud. iii. 11. John White, who could convert a cross into a boar's head, would feel no difficulty in transforming ⱭDWΠRD into

hENRIC. Such pieces seem to have been more than one. They are described as weighing from 66 to 71 grains. I am told that one of them was at Martin's sale, and sold for 3*s.* 6*d.* In being induced to give White's coins for gaps in the series, Withy and Ryall only follow or commence the practice of others. They engrave some altered coins of Henry V. and VI., and genuine unaltered coins resembling them, under Hen. IV. with avowed misgivings; they caution collectors against the sale-descriptions of the day; their book for coins which are common or not appropriated to particular desiderata is very useful; and it may be considered as having been unfairly underrated.

Snelling, in 1762, and the Society of Antiquaries, in 1763, introduce the supposed heavy groat. Pinkerton, in 1789, says that for Henry IV. and V. there are "no certain coins, except Anglo-Gallic, which are very rare." Henry VI.'s coins, he says, are common, except the light money. As to the most useful history by Ruding, criticism of the coins was out of his line.

In 1841, Hawkins quotes Snelling and the Antiquaries' plates for the heavy groat. He mentions a heavy half-groat in Martin's collection, but does not give the weight. He notices light money with Richard's head, some with, others without the Roman N, and observes that one obverse die is found with both reverses. He gives the earlier DI GRA pennies to Henry IV., and, singularly enough, the later ones to Henry VI. or VII. He cannot distinguish Henry V.'s coins, but admits, very fairly, that some of the pieces attributed to Henry IV. may be part of his early coinage, before the great coinage at the end of his reign and the beginning of that of Henry VI. Forgetting the archiepiscopal mint, he gives all York coins of the 60-grains coinage to Henry VI., in deference

to the royal authority of his first year to coin at that city. But, with Henry IV.'s heavy penny coined there before him, he does so with evident reluctance. After dealing with the coins of Henry VI. and VII., of 48 grains to the groat, which had already been partly apportioned by Folkes and Withy, and which form no part of my subject, he gives a heterogeneous but useful collection of notes about coins of Henry IV., V., and VI.

In 1852, the identification of Bishop Nevil's coins was published by Raine, from the information of Greenwell. But although the appropriation cleared the ground greatly, removing coins with dots on the sides of the crown to the later years of Henry VI., it was a dead letter in the metropolis.

Next year, Sainthill's "Olla Podrida," a work which contains divers articles much in advance of their period, perpetuated a handy list of all the disputed coins of the 60-grains coinage known to Lindsay in 1847. It does not appear whether it was revised at the date of publication. He arranged the groats and half-groats in order of marks after POSVI, thus: 1. Cross (meaning Henry V.'s peculiar quatrefoil); 2. Annulet; 3. Mullet; 4. Rose (rosette); 5. Acorn; 6. Leaf; 7. Nothing. He considered that the Calais money belonged altogether to Henry VI., that the annulet money was its earliest type, and that the earlier money, with a cross (quatrefoil) after POSVI, and a star on the king's breast, being struck only at London, were Henry V.'s. He considered, further, that the pennies of Durham, and the groats, half-groats, pennies and smaller moneys of York were all later, and therefore Henry VI.'s. In fact no pennies were given to Henry V., and no changes of moment ascribed to his coinages.

In 1866 I reviewed the history and the evidences

afforded by the pennies, confirming Lindsay's attribution of the quatrefoil pieces to Henry V., suggesting that his nomenclature for the object on the king's breast, which he called a star, should be continued; dividing the annulet coinage between Henry V. and VI.; removing Lindsay's mullet coins to the later days of Henry VI.; showing that the half-groats and pennies of the three Henries displayed three heads; locating those pieces accordingly; arguing that the first change was contemporaneous with the reappearance of the French title on the pennies and Henry V.'s claims to France, and that the second change was in the first Calais coinage, which documents showed was in progress at the death of that king; identifying the coins of Bishops Langley and Booth; and pointing out that other details and the sequence of the groats agreed with the evidence of the pennies. One great object of my paper was to show that the series was *continuous;* that coins of Henry V. there must be and are, and that the evidence of the coins, which certainly is more conclusive than anything we have for Edward I., II., and III., fully justified my division of the series at those points where the division was historically probable. I ventured to think that the *larger* denominations of the York silver, even when with Henry V.'s dies, were struck by Henry VI.

In the same number of our Journal, Pownall insisted on the identity, in all cardinal characteristics, of the London and Calais groats of the annulet, stalked cone, and rosette coinages. He was not prepared to say that no coins were struck at York in Henry V. in "face of that ordinance, made by his Parliament, in 1421, that a mint should be worked there."[1] He thought that Henry V.'s Calais

[1] I do not understand the documents as given by Ruding to show this, though he so construes them himself.

money, in any view, could only be placed between December 1, 1421, and August 31, 1422; but, judging from the assay of Goldbeter's monies struck at London, Calais, and York, might be considered as practically commencing not sooner than July 20, 1422.

In 1867 Pownall contributed a useful list of the late dotted groats of Henry VI., embracing, *inter alia*, the POSVI-*mullet* coinage, and commencing with a transitional coin leading from the *cone* coinage.

In 1868 Neck gave us another good practical paper, enumerating the varieties of the POSVI-*quatrefoil* and POSVI-*annulet* groats, and including the Calais POSVI-*trefoil* and such of the POSVI-*rosette* groats as have annulets on the obverse. He calls Lindsay's star a mullet, and is perplexed with some annulet groats which have not the later Calais head of the annulet groats, but are better than the earlier ones.

By these papers, general ideas of the pennies throughout, and of the groats from the POSVI-*quatrefoil* into the POSVI-*rosette* coinage, which is transitionally connected with the POSVI-*cone* coinage, and during the *dotted* coinages which commence with a transition from that same POSVI-*cone* period, were secured, bringing us up to the time of Edward IV.'s dotted coins, leaving as *desiderata* descriptions of the groats of Henry IV., the early ones of Henry V., and the POSVI-*rosette* and POSVI-*cone* groats between the cessation of the annulets on the obverse and the dotted coinages—in round words, the *mascle* period.

In the last part of the Numismatic Journal for 1868 is another paper by Pownall, demanding that Ossa shall be piled on Pelion, the marks upon the gold tried against those upon the silver, and all classes of the silver studied, before men commit themselves to the holding of the

opinion that the POSVI-*quatrefoil* money is Henry V.'s He adduces a variety of the ΠΩ6LIC groats to be placed somewhere before the annulet ones, and gives a new light groat of Henry IV. Finally, he appeals the second time for impressions from all collectors of coins attributed to Henry IV., which appeal should at once be answered.

A light half-groat of Henry IV. appeared at Lindsay's sale, a heavy penny is catalogued in Whitbourn's.

On the appearance of Neck's and Pownall's papers, I requested impressions of the groats they mentioned without allocating. This request was readily complied with, and both gentlemen volunteered the communication of some most valuable transitional coins. The chain of proofs as to groats and half-groats, as well as that of the pennies, now appeared to be *continuous*. The intermediate annulet groats mentioned by Neck turned out to be what I attributed to Henry VI. as the first without his father's head, and so London, in his time, is not without groats. Further details and additions to my former evidences will be found in the table which accompanies this paper.

In 1869, Neck, in a reply to Pownall, has observed that the early Calais annulet groats are not, as Pownall had seemed to suppose, uncommon; and has again stated that they sometimes present ΠΩ6L, though more generally reading ΠΩ6LIC, and that the star-marked groats themselves are not free from the same differences. He has also described two or three of his peculiar coins.

The leading column in my table is composed of the half-groats. Their interest is high, presenting as they do the heads found on the pennies, but in general details approximating the groats. The other coins are brought into sequence as nearly in accordance as possible. But it must be remembered that no class of coins will

precisely synchronize with another in minor details. There will be a general resemblance. The general results will prove the accurate order of the varying monies. Yet there is a vast chasm between a noble and a farthing.

It is not pretended that all varieties are shown in the table. Descriptions must frequently be rejected without sight of the coins, having been made before the sequence was understood. Delicate varieties of transition, multitudinous, must be filled in by others. When we consider the circumstances of each transitional period, it will readily be seen how numerous the types must necessarily be. When a king died, or a new coinage, or a new check upon officers, or a new mode of keeping accounts was determined on, there would be, firstly, the time when the old dies were alone in use, and, afterwards, before both sides of the new dies were fairly in use, a time when old reverses would be used with new obverses, old obverses with new reverses, and old designs and punches more or less mingled with new alterations and additions. A Durham collector, accustomed to the queer mixtures of Bek and Kellow, Nevil and Booth, will readily understand what I mean. What I have aimed at is a continuous series of the half-groats, illustrated by other classes of silver. The gold may be taken up by other people, but I have good reason not to fear the effect of its study.[2]

The coins, where no references are given, are in my own cabinet, to the best of my belief, but I may have neglected here and there to give references to coins not therein.

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[2] It is curious that the broken annulet, so common on the smaller silver of Henry V., has not been noticed on his groats. Yet it occurs on the ship in some of his nobles, which present his peculiar quatrefoil on the reverse.

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
HENRY IV. acc. 30 Sep., 1399. Indenture for heavy coinage, 3 Hen. IV. Petition in 4 Hen. IV. states that no half-pennies and farthings were made. Enactment, 4 Hen. IV., that $\frac{1}{3}$ of silver bullion shall be made into half-pennies and farthings. Roman N in LONDON.	72 grains. Unknown. Cf. W. & R., viii. 1, with Rud., iii. 11.	36 grains. *Obv.* + hENRIC'. DI'. GRA. REX. ANGL—F. Head like Richard II.'s. Cusps above crown fleured. *Rev.* · + POSVI DEVM ADIVTOR--EM. MEV—CIVITAS LONDON—Pellets separate. Hks. 323. Weight 33 grs. Martin sale, from Willet's. Purchased by Shepherd for £4 5s. In DI, fleurs above crown, mode of dividing ADIVTOREM by the great cross of the reverse, and Roman N, the coin does not disagree with some half-groats of Ric. II.	18 grains. "Weight 16½ grs., of the London Mint, unique and unpublished." (Whitbourn sale). The subsequent Durham and York pennies can readily be supplied from the sequence of them given by me in N.C. vii. 25, &c.	9 grains. *Obv.* + hENRIC. REX : ANGLIE. *Rev.* CIVITAS LONDON. Olla Podr. xxix. 9. 8½ grs. Mine is 8 grs., with hair exactly like Richard II.'s half-pennies, reading ANGLIE. Same, but hair more exaggerated, like Henry IV.'s pennies; bust squarish, 7¼ grs. *Rev.* Same, but pellets united. *Obv.* hENRICVS. REX. ANGL. (Hks. 324. 9¼ grs.) *Rev.* Same, but both sides with larger and more elegant lettering. *Obv.* h ENRIC · REX: ANGL'—Peculiar square bust. Hair not like Ric. II.'s. 9 grs.

	60 grains.	30 grains.	15 grains.	7½ grains.
Ordinance for change of weight, 13 Hen. IV. Continuation of Roman N in London.	*Obv.* DⱭI, as in some groats of Ric. II.—AⱢGLIⱭ only, without French title, as in some half-groats of that king. Peculiar ornaments between words. Cusps above crown fleured as in Richard's coins. *Rev.* Roman N in LONDON — ADIVTORⱭ-ℳ. Wt. 56 grs. (Rud., iv. 8.)			Notwithstanding the weight, I am doubtful as to the position in precise date of at least the last of the above. The order is, I think, right. The weight in such small pieces cannot be expected to be very exact. See note *** next page as to the exceptional weight of half-pennies in 1445.
Annulets on obverse.	*Rev.* Nearly same. AD : IVTORⱭ—ℳ—LONDON. *Obv.* DEI—AⱢGL' Z . FRAⱢⱭ—Annulet at each side of crown. All cusps fleured. (W. & R., viii. 3). Not quite 58 grs.			Same, but annulet at each side of neck. 8 grs.

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
English Ո in LOՈDOՈ. I understand that some of these LOՈDOՈ groats have pellets or dots instead of the annulet and dot.	——— *Obv.* DI instead of DEI—Slipped trefoil after FRAՈCE, none on breast. *Rev.* A : DIVTOREMՈ — LOՈDOՈ— Pellets cloverwise (Pownall, N.C. vii. 343.) ——— *Rev.* LOՈDOՈ. *Obv.* D'I instead of DEI, AՈGLIE instead of AՈGL.—Slipped trefoil on breast-cusp instead of fleur — Cusps above crown fleured — Annulet to dexter of crown, dot above its sinister member. (Hks. p. 104).	*Obv.* +hENRIC. DEI . GRA . REX: AՈGL' : Z F—Cusps above crown fleured. Pellets at side of crown. Cusp on breast fleured. Head of Hen. IV. *Rev.* + POSVI · DEV ADIVT · OREMՈ—CIVITAS LOՈDOՈ—Pellets united. Purchased by Robinson at Lindsay's sale. Contraction after AՈGL a wedge. That before F like Edw. III.'s. Stop after ADIVT seems to be a slipped trefoil, with slip upwards. Weight 27 grs.		Note *** With reference to the heavy half-pennies above, it may be remarked that as late as 1445, 24 Hen. V., the reason for the great scarcity of half-pennies and farthings was that "for their great weight, and their fineness of alloy, they be daily tried and molt." It was then enacted that the pound troy which had made 30*s.* of half-pennies and farthings like the pennies, should thenceforth yield 33*s.* in the smaller moneys only. And see Neck, N. C., N. S., ix. 201, for "heavy half-pennies, from different dies, weighing respectively 9 and $9\frac{1}{4}$ grs.—on which the hair is arranged as on the common money of the Henries."

Roman N again used in LONDON.	*Obv.* Same die. *Rev.* POSVI(slipped trefoil) DEVM : AD : IVTOR EM : MEVM—CIVI . TAS . . LONDON (Hks. 325).	*Obv.* Unknown. *Rev.* + POSVI DEVM : ADIVTOREM : MEV — CIVITAS LONDON. Pellets disunited. Only known by next coin.	*Obv.* hENRIC'. REX . ANGLIE — Slipped trefoil on breast—Annulet and dot on sides of crown. *Rev.* Slipped trefoil before CIVITAS LONDON — Pellets not united. (Hks. 327.)	
HENRY V. acc. 21 Mar. 1413. Transitional types from dies or with characteristics of his father's money. Multiplicity of cusps, broken annulet, and new crown and hair introduced by him on half-groat. Roman N used for the last time in the 15th century.	*Obv.* Cusps above crown fleured as in Henry IV.'s coins, but quatrefoil after hENRIC instead of trefoils. — Cusp on breast fleured—Tressure too small for the portrait, so that the fleur on the breast takes the place of the neck and reaches the chin. Dumpy square lettering. New style of head. No marks at sides of crown. *Rev.* ADIVTOREM instead of ADIVTOREM—Nothing after POSVI—CIVITAS : LONDON :—Lettering taller than that on obv. (Pownall.)	—LONDON.— *Rev.* Same, quite different work from obv. *Obv.* New crown, with sunk row of circles. It continues to Edw. IV. Cusp increased to 12. Cusps above crown unfleured. Cusp to dexter of crown with broken annulet instead of fleur. Neck very long. DI instead of DEI. ANGLIE instead of ANGL. The contraction Z before F of later character. Hair that of Hen. V. Egg-like prominence on neck. (Neck). Referred to in N. C., N.S., ix. 202.	*Obv.* Precisely same, with head of Hen. IV., but the slipped trefoil is altered into a quatrefoil, and the dot into a star. *Rev.* LONDON — Nothing before CIVITAS, but a stop after it — Pellets united—Letter I ornamented at ends. ——— *Obv.* Same, but DI GRA, with quatrefoil after GRA, and ANGL instead of ANGLIE. *Rev.* No stop. Pellets disunited. (Hks. 326.)	Same, but annulet and star at sides of hair—The sides of the letter O bulge inwards for the first time. 8 grs.

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
Characteristics of Henry IV.'s coins cease.	*Obv.* Same, but lettering taller — Tressure wider, allowing room for neck—Colon after FRAnC'. *Rev.* Same, but saltired stop after POSVI. (Neck). ——— *Rev.* Same, but the mark after POSVI is in the DEVM quarter, and seems to be a small quatrefoil or trefoil. *Obv.* No fleurs on cusps above crown—No colon after FRAnC — Head more regularly Henry V.'s, with egg-like protuberance on neck. Stop after DI blurred, and space after h E n R I C injured. (Num. Chron., N.S., viii. 343. Pownall).	*Obv.* From same die. *Rev.* POSVI (stop the usual small saltire) DEV' ADIVTORE . M E.—CIVITAS LOnDOn' — Pellets united. ——— [W. & R., ix. 12, agree with the next coin in its 11 cusps, and want of fleurs on the top ones, but give neither fleur nor star on the breast, nor *any* marks near crown or after POSVI. Qu. if correctly engraved.]	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same legend, but Henry V.'s head —Old crown still—No marks on breast or sides of crown—(Cf. Rud., Sup. ii. 25).	

'POSVI — *quatrefoil* coinage, with star on breast, and trefoil of three dots.	*Rev.* Same, but large quatrefoil after POSVI. *Obv.* Seems to be the same—Quatrefoil after ḤENRIC as before—Usual stop after DI. (Neck.) ——— *Rev.* Same, but smaller quatrefoil after POSVI. *Obv.* Star instead of fleur on cusp of breast—Long thin portrait — FRAN' — Usual stop after ḤENRIC'. (Pownall).	*Rev.* Same, but no stops after CIVITAS or LONDON—Quatrefoil after POSVI [Pellets engraved as not united]. *Obv.* Small trefoils after ḤENRIC, GRA, and REX.—Cusps 11, the two above the crown unfleured — Fleur upon the breast supplanted by a star—Fleur on cusp previously occupied by broken annulet—Annulet (broken?) on dexter, three dots trefoil-wise on sinister side of crown. (Hks. 331.)	*Rev.* Same—Pellets united. *Obv.* Same legend, with addition of · S · F—Crown, that of the half-groats — Neck long—Star and three dots in triangle at sides of crown.	Same legend—Annulet and three dots in trefoil at sides of hair—Long neck, but low bust, which low bust seems to be characteristic of Hen. V. ——— Same, but the three dots are on the dexter, and the annulet on the sinister side of the hair. (Pownall?)
Same, without trefoil.	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same, but cusp on breast fleured again, and the star removed to the sinister pap of the breast—FRANC'—Quatrefoil after ḤENRIC.	*Rev.* Same: pellets united. *Obv.* Cusps still 11 — Long neck continues — Trefoil of three dots disappears from sinister side of crown—Broken annulet remains on dexter side. (Neck.)	Here probably comes Dr. Smith's London penny, Lindsay, No. 49, "mullet or cinquefoil [star] at right [dexter] side of crown," and "pellet at left [sinister] side" —Rev. "Pellets connected by small points." (Cf. Durham).	Long neck still—Broken annulet, with ends upwards, crescent-wise, on each side of hair.

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
Same, with shorter neck in half-groat.	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same, but usual stop after ꟻꟿꟿRICꟿ.	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same: but cusps 12, instead of 11; the two above the crown resume their fleurs—Neck shorter, with the egg-like protuberance greatly modified.	Here probably comes Dr. Smith's London penny, Lindsay, No. 48, same as above, but annulet instead of pellet at left [sinister] side of crown. (Cf. Durham). I have a note of such a coin. It had the crown of the half-groats and hair of Hen. V. ꟻꟿꟿRICꟿ REX ANGLIꟿ ⅄ F—CIVITAS . LON. DON. —Pellets united.	Same, but stop after CIVITAS and LONDON, and the broken annulets placed higher up, at sides of tufts above hair. ——— Neck shorter—No tuft—Broken annulets, with ends downwards, like horse-shoes, at each side of crown.
Same, with shorter neck still in half-groat, which becomes substantially identical with the groats.	*Obv.* Same, but neck and bust and egg-like protuberance all much more moderate. *Rev.* Same, but the letter I shortened in body and made to look thicker, by indenting and ornamenting the ends to a greater extent.	*Obv.* Same, but cusps only 10—Neck shorter still, and protuberance almost gone. *Rev.* POSVI (quatrefoil) DꟿVꟿ · ADIVTORꟿ'. ꟿꟿ'.—CIVITAS : LONDON :—Pellets united. The letter I modified as in the groat.	"As No. 48, but two annulets after CIVITAS, and one after LONDON." Lindsay, No. 50. ——— *Obv.* ꟻꟿꟿRIꟿ . RꟿX . ANGLIꟿ . ⅄: F . . . Star and trefoil at sides of crown. Head of Hen. V. *Rev.* CIVITAS . LONDON. York Museum, and Rud., Sup. ii. 26.	Same, but broken annulet, ends downward, between CIVI and TAS.—Trefoil ? before LONDON.

Same, but the London mint changes F into FR.	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same, but ΠΠGL.S. FRAΠ-CIC. Others read FRΠΠC' and FRΠΠCC.	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Cusps 11 instead of 10—FR instead of F.	Same, without French title. Withy & R. viii. 2, from a specimen in which Π has been altered to N to make it a coin of Henry IV. The star is also mis-engraved or tampered with, appearing in Rud., Sup. ii. 13, as a regular fleur-de-lis.	Same, but no broken annulet, nor any marks in CIVITAS LOΠDOΠ.
Indenture for new coinage at London and Calais, 13 Feb., 1422. Transitional issues presenting old obverses altered, and reverses of the new coinage distinguished by POSVI—*annulet*.	*Obv.* Same as last type but one; but with star on dexter instead of sinister breast. *Rev.* Same, but annulet after POSVI instead of quatrefoil; and annulets introduced among the pellets under CIVI and LOΠ (W. & R., ix. 1).	*Obv.* Still 11 cusps, but two above crown unfleured—F at Calais still—Cusp on breast remains unfleured, but no star—Annulet at each side of neck. *Rev.* POSVI (annulet) DCVM : ADIVTORC'. M'.—VILLA : CALIS' : — Pellets disjointed — Annulet in VIL and CAL quarters.	[From the state of the coins, I introduce the following Calais pennies without voucher. 1. Small broken annulet at dexter side of crown, and annulet at dexter side of neck only. 2. Nothing at side of crown, but annulet on the sinister side of the neck broken. In other respects these pennies resemble those below.]	Same, but annulet on each side of crown.

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
POSVI — *annulet* coins. Excess of cusps abandoned, and old number of 9 resumed.	*Obv.* Same, but no star—Annulet at each side of neck. *Rev.* Same, but VILLA : CALISIC : —Annulets in pellets under VIL and CALI. [W. & R., ix. 2, reads FRAN.]	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* FR' instead of F'—Cusps reduced to 9, as in times before Hen. V.	*Obv.* Same, but HENRICVS. Crown of half-groats abandoned — Annulet at each side of neck. *Rev.* VILLA : CALIS' :—Annulet in VIL and CAL quarters among pellets.	Same, but annulets removed to sides of neck—Annulet in two quarters of reverse.—VILLA : CALIS.
London phase of same coinage.	*Obv.* Same, but no annulets. *Rev.* Same, but varied for London as in type last but one.	*Obv.* Same, but without annulets. *Rev.* Same, but CIVITAS . LON-DON : — Annulets in CIVI and LON quarters.	*Obv.* Same, but no annulets. *Rev.* Same, but CIVITAS LONDON without colons.	*Obv.* Same, but no annulets— MM. cross pierced, differing from succeeding coins.—CIVITAS LONDON.
Variation of same.		*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same, but one stop only after LON-DON.		
HENRY VI. acc. 1 Sept., 1423. His father's dies still in use. ANGLIC changes to ANGL.	*Obv.* and *Rev.* same; but ANGL instead of ANGLIC (N. C., viii. 168).	*Obv.* Same, but ANGL' instead of ANGLIC — Annulet at each side of neck. *Rev.* Same, but VILLA : CALIS' :—Annulets in VIL and CAL quarters.		Same for both London and Calais, but MM. cross close, and bust rounded and separated from the beading. London continues to avoid the stops of the Calais obverses.

New portraits.	*Rev.* Same both for London and Calais. *Obv.* Same: no fleur on base cusp—Breasts defined by firm line—Central member of crown, which has been changing, is now fully ram's-horned — Face delicate and pleasing.	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same, but sinister hair same as dexter hair. [Qu. if also introduced at London?]	A severer face and thicker annulets appear on Calais pennies.
New reverse at Calais for the half-groat.	[A groat at Alnwick Castle, with Henry VI's breasts, reads ANGLIÆ.]	*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same, but cross introduced before POSVI, and MÆVM instead of M'. This change confined to Calais.	
Old reverse of half-groat retained at London. Further change of portrait, which continues into Edward IV.'s reign, and has the hair without proper curls, but with coarse striations.		*Rev.* Old formula of POSVI (annulet) DÆVM : ADIVTORÆ' : M'.—CIVITAS. LONDON. — Annulet in CIVI and LON quarters. *Obv,* Same, but Henry VI.'s hair instead of Henry V.'s.	Hair of Henry VI. introduced, and the head so altered remains until Edward IV.'s time. The annulet coins in other respects remain the same for both London and Calais.
Variation of same type.		*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same, but : instead of . after CIVITAS and LONDON.	

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
Calais type of same coinage. New portrait on groats.	*Obv.* and *Rev.* of Calais same, but with larger and more severe head, which, more or less modified, extends to Edward IV.'s reign [Qu. if this head also introduced at London contemporaneously with the new head on the half-groats?]	*Obv.* Same, but F' instead of FR'—Annulets on each side of neck. *Rev.* The new Calais reverse already described.		
This half-groat appears in L. Jewitt's Handbook. The new reverse at London. The coinage changing.		*Obv.* Same, although a London coin. *Rev.* Same, but CIVITAS : LON : DON :, and only one annulet, viz. in the CIVI quarter.		
POSVI — *trefoil* coinage at Calais. Qu. if also at London.	*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same, but trefoil instead of annulet after POSVI — Only one annulet, viz. in the CALI quarter.	*Obv.* Same as last. *Rev.* Same, but trefoil instead of annulet after POSVI — Only one annulet, which is in the CAL quarter.		

POSVI —*rosette* coinage.	*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same, but no annulet at all—Rosette instead of trefoil after POSVI, and also instead of the stops after SIC.			
Introduction of the mascle on reverse.		*Obv.* Same as last. *Rev.* Rosette instead of trefoil after POSVI —CALISIC —*rosette* instead of CALIS':—Mascle between VIL and LA — Pellets united.		
Annulets totally disappear. Mascle introduced on obverse in spandrils.	Groat corresponds with half-groat—Annulets gone from the obverse, and mascles are in two spandrils (Pownall).	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same, but a mascle introduced in one spandril of the tressure on each side of the king's head; and the annulets at the sides of the neck have disappeared.		

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
Rosettes and mascle introduced between words on obverse. See Rud., Sup. ii. 21, for a variety of the half-groat, where the mascle is after GRA, and the rosette after RꞒX, and : occurs after VIL.	The groat exactly corresponds with the half-groat in the changes. Mascle on obverse sometimes close. [Lindsay quotes Duby, xxvi. 9, for a groat with words on obverse divided by trefoils, except where the lozenge follows RꞒX, and with trefoil after POSVI and ꞒALISIꞒ, and lozenge before LA. He also quotes Duby, xxvi. 10, for "Same as last, but roses before and after Z."	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same, but rosettes after ɧꞒNRIꞒ, DI, and GRA, also before and after the ≤. — Mascle after RꞒX.	*Obv.* Rosettes between words — No mascle—No annulets. *Rev.* VILLA : ꞒALIS—Rosette after ꞒALIS.—No annulets. (W. & R., ix. 15.) *Obv.* Mascle instead of rosette after RꞒX. *Rev.* VIL (mascle) LA : ꞒALISIꞒ (rosette). (Lindsay, 31.)	*Obv.* Rosettes between words. *Rev.* Mascle and rosette—ꞒALIS. (Ruding, iv. 18.) LOND-DOND. (Hks. pp. 111, 112.) Same, but mascle instead of rosette after RꞒX. (Hks. A. C., iii. 8.) In mine there is a stop after LA. Same, but colon after LA, and ꞒALISIꞒ instead of ꞒALIS.

Cross patonce introduced as a mint-mark.	Groat corresponds with half-groat.	*Rev.* Same. *Obv.* Same, but the mint-mark, for the first time since Edward III.'s crown MM., alters from being a plain cross more or less patée, pierced or otherwise, and is now a cross patonce.	Same, but cross patonce mint-mark on obverse. [Cf. "Lord Pembroke's thick groat." Rud. Sup., ii. 24. No rosette on obverse. Reverse reads (cross) VIL (mascle) LA : CALI (rosette) SIC (mascle). The piece resembles a penny, but weighs 58 grs.]	Same of both CALIS and CALISIC reverses, but cross patonce mint-mark.
Same coinage at London mint.		*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same, but CIVITAS LON (mascle) DON (rosette).		
Ditto, varied.	Hks., 330. Marks disposed exactly like those on the half-groat.	*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same, but mascle before LON instead of after it.		

Kings, Coinages, and Notes.	Groats.	Half-groats.	Pennies.	Half-pennies.
Transition from rosette to cone coinage.	*Obv.* As in the rosette groats above, rosettes still before and after ⪦. *Rev.* Cones (they are I believe always stalked, and when in bad condition look like leaves) take the place of the rosettes after POSVI and LOND-DON.	*Obv.* Same, but the rosettes before and after ⪦ disappear, and stops take their place. [Cusp on breast fleur-ed, and MM. is a plain cross according to the plate. (Rud. iv. 16.)] *Rev.* Same, but stalked-cones instead of the rosettes after POSVI and DON. Mascle in same place.		
POSVI—*cone* coinage at Calais.	Groat corresponds with the half-groat, and there are now only stops before and after the ⪦.	*Obv.* Same, but VIL (mascle) LA: CALISIC (cone).	*Obv.* (Cross patonce) HENRICVS (cone) REX (mascle) ANGLIC. *Rev.* VIL (mascle) LA: CALISIC (cone). (Hks., A. G., p. 87.)	
Same at London.	*Obv.* Same. *Rev.* Same as in the London transitional coin above.			*Obv.* Cone after HENRIC. Mascle after REX. *Rev.* CIVITAS (mascle) LONDON. (cone.) Same, but no mark on reverse.

				Obv. Mascle after HENRIC, and leaf (cone?) after REX. *Rev.* Same; but mascle after CIVI. (Hks., 334.)
Transition from cone coinage to the latter coins of Henry VI., which form no part of this list.	"Lozenge under bust and before LON-DON; leaf after LON-DON and POSVI." (Lindsay, 22.)	"MM. plain cross on both sides; lozenge under bust: nothing after POSVI; leaf after LONDON." (Lindsay, 34.)	*Obv.* (plain cross) HENRICVS . REX (mascle) ANGLI — Saltire at each side of head. *Rev.* CIVITAS LON (altered to N) DON (altered also). (W. & R., viii. 10.)	MM. cross patonce. —ANGLI . Saltire on each side of neck. LONDON. (Rud., Sup. iii. 7.)
See further as to connection between the cone coinage and the late dotted coins in the list of the dotted groats by Mr. Pownall.	*Obv.* Leaf under breast. No cones on obverse. *Rev.* Leaf under final M of MAVM—Nothing after POSVI. Mint-mark crosses on both sides *not* patonce.	*Obv.* MM. cross patonce. Cones after HENRIC, DI, and GRA — Something after REX—ANGL' : (mullet) F — Something after F. *Rev.* Formula as before, but no MM., ornaments, or stops of any kind, except a dot in the DON quarter—Pellets united.	*Obv.* MM. injured. HENRICVS : REX (mascle) only room for ANGL—Leaf on breast. *Rev.* VILLA : CALISIE : —Leaf under the final colon. *Obv.* (Plain cross) HENRICVS (mascle) REX (cone?) ANGL' —Leaf on breast. *Rev.* CIVITAS LONDON. No marks.	Leaf on breast, and under LON, (Hks., p. 111), and SIE of the Calais mint — HENRICVS (cone) REX (mascle) ANGL.

I have only to add that I do not trouble myself about the date of the York groat, as Henry VI. would use his father's dies for a time, and that the list as to Henry IV. must be taken with great allowance, as I do not collect his coins. I confess also that the later part of the table did not excite my enthusiasm. Were I re-drawing the list I should keep the mints of London and Calais in separate columns, and not attempt to show all the denominations in one table, as I see clearly that the mints no more change their details in precise synchronism than the denominations. The Durham and York coins are eliminated, their peculiarities deserving entirely distinct treatment, although very useful in checking the accuracy of the London and Calais lists.

As I look upon the small saltires, single or double, between words as merely ornamented stops, they are so treated in the table.

W. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe.

Gateshead.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *Revue Numismatique*, Nos. 1-2, 1869, are the following articles :—

1. Letters from M. de Saulcy to M. Adr. de Longpérier on Gaulish Numismatics. XXX. Revision of letters XI. to XXVIII.

2. Letter from M. F. de Pfaffenhoffen to M. Adr. de Longpérier on some Celtic coins.

3. "Coins relating to the Θέμιδες of Asia Minor," by M. Henri de Longpérier.

4. "Louis d'Outre-Mer in Normandy. The Evreux Find," by M. Adr. de Longpérier.

5. "Essay on the numismatic history of the Counts of Flanders of the house of Austria, and classification of their coins," by M. L. Deschamps de Pas.

6. "Examination of some Italian coins attributed to Mademoiselle de Montpensier," by M. Adr. de Longpérier.

7. Letter from M. C. F. Trachsel to M. Adr. de Longperier on some coins of the Abbey of Disentis in the canton Grisons, Switzerland.

8. "On three *mêreaux* relating to the construction of the Canal de Briare," by M. A. de Charmasse.

In the *Chronique* are the following notices :—

1. "On the Tarsus Treasure."
2. "On the attribute of Uberitas."
3. "False gold medallion."
4. "Monetary document relating to the Seigneurs of Nesles." by M. L. Deschamps de Pas.
5. Prices fetched at the Gréau and Colson sales.

In the *troisième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* for 1869 are the following articles :—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity" (fifteenth article), by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Mailliet.

2. "Ancient jetons of the *Receveurs* of Brussels" (fourth article), by. M. R. Chalon.

3. Second letter to M. Chalon, President of the Société Royale de Numismatique, on the subject of discoveries of ancient coins in Belgium, by M. H. Schuermans.

4. "Numismatic curiosties. Rare or inedited medals and coins," by M. R. Chalon (thirteenth article).

5. "A medal unknown to Van Loon.—The poet Houwaert," by M. R. Chalon.

6. "The question of an international uniformity of coinage, considered from an historical point of view," by M. le C^te^ Maurin Nahuys.

In the *Correspondance* is a letter from M. Baudouin de Jonghe to M. R. Chalon, President of the Société Royale de Numismatique, and an extract from a letter to M. Chalon from M. l'avocat Serrure.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* are recorded the deaths of M. Antoine Namur, M. Victor Langlois, and M. le Baron Michiels.

The part concludes with the President's and Secretary's Reports, &c.

In the *Berliner Blätter für Münz- Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, Part I., vol. v., 1869, are the following articles:—

1. "Joseph Mader," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.

2. "Inedita of the Rauch collection," by A. von Rauch.

3. "Greek coins from the collection of Herr Fr. Imhoof-Blumer, of Winterthur," by Fr. Imhoof-Blumer.

4. "Inedited mediæval coins," by H. Dannenberg.

5. "On the coins of Hohenzollern," by the Archivrath v. Mülverstedt.

6. "Zecchino of Pope Pius III., by Dr. Julius Friedlaender."

7. "The Erfurt paper money," by Schlickeysen.

The part concludes with notices of the most recent coins, medals, and numismatic publications.

"A Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins, giving a Description of every denomination of every issue in Gold, Silver, and Copper, from the Conquest to the Present Time," by Henry William Henfrey. 1869.

This little work, which is making its appearance in shilling parts (of which two out of the five or six which will form the volume, have already appeared), promises to supply a want which is so frequently felt by incipient collectors of a small and handy volume comprising the principal facts relating to the English series, without entering into all the details of large works, such as Snelling, Ruding, or Hawkins. The work appears to have been carefully compiled, and is illustrated by

numerous woodcuts, exhibiting the various types. We commend it to beginners.

We are glad to see announced as nearly ready a new and enlarged edition of "The Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Delhi," by Mr. Edward Thomas, late of the East India Company Bengal Civil Service. The work will be published by Messrs. Trübner and Co., and will be enriched with new specimens from the collections of Mr. E. C. Bayley, the late Colonel Stacey, Mr. C. Freeling, and the most recent acquisitions of Colonel S. C. Guthrie; aided by contributions from the independent researches of General A. Cunningham, and supplemented by selections from the Dynastic Inscriptions extant on various local monuments.

MISCELLANEA.

FIND OF COINS AT POOLE.—For the following list of small brass Roman coins, found some years ago at Poole, we are indebted to Mr. C. Roach Smith. The list was originally drawn up by Mr. John Adkins Barton, of Poole.

Roman Coins dug up on the Property of — Jolliffe, Esq., Poole.

GALLIENUS.

	No. found.
AETERNITATI AVG. Sun holding globe. In field F.C.	1
APOLLINI CONS. AVG. Centaur. In Ex. X. . .	2
DIANAE CONS. AVG. Stag	3
Idem. Doe	3
Idem. Uncertain	2
FORTVNA REDVX. Fortune standing. In field S. .	5
IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter standing. In field N.	1
IOVI PROPVGNATORI. Jove hurling bolt. In field N. (2 types)	3
LAETITIA AVG. Joy standing with garland . .	2
LIBERO P. CONS. AVG. Panther	2
MARTI PACIFERO. Mars holding branch. In field A.	2
NEPTVNO CONS. AVG. Sea-horse. In field N. . .	2
PAX AVG. Peace with sceptre and branch. In field V. and A.	4
SALVS AVGG. Health standing before altar . . .	1
Idem. Health standing. In field XII. . .	1
SECVRIT PERPET. Security standing. In field N. .	1

VBERITAS AVG. Fertility with bunch of grapes and cornucopiæ 3
VICTORIA AET. Victoria with wreath. In field = .
VIRTVS AVG. Mars with globe and sceptre. In field P.C. 41. 3
Idem. But holding spear and palm. In field C. 1
Uncertain 2

SALONINA.

AVG IN PACE (?). Female with hasta. In EX. V.S. ? . 1
IVNONI CONS. AVG. Hart. In EX. L. 1
PIETAS AVG. Piety standing 1
PVDICITIA (?). Female seated 1
SECVRIT. PERPET. Security leaning on pillar with hasta 1
VENVS VICTRIX. Venus with sceptre and helmet (?) . . 1

POSTUMUS.

CONCORDIA EQVIT. Standing figure 1
PAX AVG. Peace standing 1
VIRTVS AVG. Mars marching 1

VICTORINUS.

Obv. DIVO VICTORINO PIO. *Rev.* CONSECRATIO. Eagle on globe 1
INVICTVS. Sun holding whip. Star in field . . 14
LAETITIA AVG. Joy standing 1
PAX AVG. Peace with spear and branch. In field star, or I. V. or X. 9
PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providence with cornucopiæ . 13
PIETAS AVG. Piety at altar 8
SALVS AVG. Health with serpent 11
SPES AVG. Hope marching 1
SECVRITAS AVG. Security leaning on column . . 1
VICTORIA AVG. Victory with wreath and palm . . 2
VIRTVS AVG. Mars (?) with shield and spear . . 14
Uncertain 4

TETRICUS, SEN.

COMES AVG. Victory with wreath and palm . . 12
CONCORDIA AVG (?). Female with patera and cornucopiæ 7
FIDES MILITVM. Female figure with two standards . 7
HILARITAS AVG. Hilaritas with cornucopiæ and palm 9
LAETITIA AVG. Lætitia with patera and rudder . . 3

PAX AVG. Peace with spear and crown . . . 27
SALVS AVG. Hygeia with patera and altar . . . 5
SPES AVG. Hope with flower 11
SPES PVBLICA. Idem 2
VICTORIA AVG. Victory with wreath and palm . . 4
VIRTVS AVG. Soldier with spear and shield . . 8
VIRTVS AVGG. Idem . . 4
Uncertain 7

TETRICUS, JUN.

PAX AVG. Peace with sceptre and flower . . . 1
PIETAS AVGG. Sacrificial instruments . . . 7
PIETAS AVGVSTOR. Idem . . . 3
PRINC. IVVENT. Tetricus with spear 1
SPES AVGG. Hope with flower 17
SPES PUBLICA. Idem. 16

CLAUDIUS II.

AEQVITAS AVG. Æquitas with cornucopiæ and scales 3
ANNONA AVG. Plenty, with ears of corn and cornucopiæ 3
CONSECRATIO. Altar 5
Idem. Eagle on globe 2
FELICITAS AVG. Happiness, with cornucopiæ and caduceus 2
FIDES EXERCITVS. Female figure with standard . 1
FORTVNA REDVX. Fortune standing . . . 1
GENIVS AVG. Genius with patera and cornucopiæ . 1
GENIVS EXERCIT. Idem . 3
IOVI STATORI. Jove with spear and thunderbolt . 5
LAETITIA AVG. Joy with crown and cornucopiæ . 1
PROVID. AVG. Providence with cornucopiæ, with or without spear 3
SECVRITAS AVG. Security leaning on altar, with spear 2
VICTORIA AVG. Victory with wreath and palm . . 2
VIRTVS AVG. Soldier with spear and shield . . 2
Uncertain 3

QUINTILLUS.

CONCORDIA AVG. Concord standing 1
VIRTVS AVG. Soldier to right 1

AURELIANUS.

PIETAS AVG. Emperor sacrificing before Terminus (?). In Ex. S. 1
Uncertain 3

Total, 366 coins.

CLEANING SILVER COINS.—Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, of Chester, has cleaned several ancient silver coins for me with such remarkable success, that it appears to be desirable to communicate his process to the numismatic public, and I have his kind permission to do so. If any other person has already hit upon the same chemical combinations and mode of operating, I am not aware of the fact; and I am assured that Mr. Shrubsole has attained the success to which I can testify by his own independent study and experiments, and I should perhaps add, his skilful manipulation. I placed in his hands a tetradrachm of Antiochus X. (Eusebes) and one of Seleucus VI., which, together with another Græco-Syrian tetradrachm, had been sold at Sotheby's for only £1 10*s*., as "poor." Both were so thickly incrusted with an inveterate reddish rust, or oxide, that the features and legends were almost entirely imperceptible. *Ammon. fortiss.* was, as I have often found it, inefficacious. Mr. Shrubsole very soon "brought them to a sense of their situation," and handed me the Antiochus in the perfect condition described in the catalogue phrase, "as from the die," and the Seleucus, which was in itself an inferior coin, quite clean, and very greatly improved. He was equally successful with some obstinate tetradrachms of the Ptolemies.

Can any one prescribe a really safe and sure method of cleaning ancient brass, "bronze," or copper coins? I have read what Pinkerton and others have written about cleaning coins, and have been advised and assisted by persons of great experience; but as yet have found all processes upon the whole, unsatisfactory, or worse, [illegible] and am disposed to acquiesce in the rule [illegible], at the British Museum, of not cleaning at all; but one often wishes that the superficial dirt and grease of ages could be safely removed, and the letters rendered clean and sharp; and it must surely be feasible to a good practical chemist. But I have known some valuable coins ruined by very scientific gentlemen; and "oil," "spirits of wine," "ammonia," &c., have, as I have observed, proved inefficacious, or worse.

Oct., 1869. A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL.

THE CLEANING OF SILVER COINS.—The cleaning of coins, in the popular sense of the phrase, must always be regarded by numismatists as a barbarous, as well as a hazardous proceeding. On the other hand, my object is to show that there is a scientific and safe method, not open to the common objection, and meeting the necessity of the case, since coins are found in a state in which cleaning is indispensable in order to render them legible or available at all. A pile of Saxon coins, cemented

and lumped together, and forming a compact mass, has been dug up in Chester. How necessary to have some safe method of dealing with such treasures!

Coins are subject to—1. Oxidation; 2. Erosion; 3. Incrustation.

As to "Oxidation," though the process which I am about to submit will effectually remove this, which is generally but a very slight coating, I would not advise its removal. It is natural to the coin, and I would respect the bloom of antiquity.

Erosion is caused by the coins having been in contact with some corrosive substance, and the metal of the coin being eaten away through the chemical action; and this is, of course, irremediable.

Incrustation. It is with this that I purpose to deal. The principal cause of disfigurement in silver Greek and Roman coins, is a deposit upon them of some inferior metal, in the shape of oxide or carbonate, usually of iron and copper. Frequently this deposit is one-eighth of an inch, or more, in thickness, obscuring alike both portrait and legend. To remove this something which lies between the coin and its possessor, is my object; and it is effected by a process easy of application, and without risk to the coin. An illustration occurs in old wood carvings, which are frequently met with thickly coated with paint, which, treated with an alkali, is soon removed, and the carving comes out once more fresh and good.

G. W. S.

To Clean Silver Coins.—The coins to be covered with the following acid solution, and allowed to remain in it for half an hour, or from that to two or three hours, according to the obstinacy of the case:—

ACID SOLUTION.

Citric acid	1 oz.	
Glycerine	½ oz.	
Water	10 oz.	Mix.

Heat facilitates the operation, but boiling is not essential: a warm place by the fire is sufficient. The coins are next to be placed in *Liq. ammon. fortiss.* for half an hour, and then smartly brushed with a tooth-brush and soap and water.

If the oxide is not wholly removed, replace the coins in the ammonia, and repeat the brushing. I prefer using fresh ammonia each time. The quantity needs only to be sufficient to cover the coin. Where the incrustation is one-eighth of an inch thick or more, it will be necessary to repeat the acid process, and then the ammonia and brushing, two or three times. This

process is only recommended for silver coins of good quality; the better the silver, the more successful the operation.

Neither citric acid nor ammonia acts at all upon the *silver;* if, therefore, a coin of good silver should be left for some days in either solution, no harm will occur.

The citric acid combining with the oxide or carbonate of silver, copper, or iron (which in the main compose the incrustations upon silver coins), forms a soluble compound. The double operation may be thus formulated:—

First.—Oxide of silver, Citric acid } = Citrate of silver.
[The metallic silver left untouched.]

Second.—Ammonia = Ammonia-citrate of silver.

G. W. S.

Sale of Coins and Medals.—The following important collections have been sold this season by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, and from them are selected the following noteworthy pieces:—

The Marsh and other Cabinets, *January* 18—21.—Lot. 197. Charles II. crown, 1665, regni xvi., &c.—£3 16*s*. Lot 208. Victoria pattern half-crown, 1864; this was struck for the special purpose of being placed under the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park—£6 10*s*. Lot 218. William III. pistole, 1701. Fine—£3. Lot 219. William III. half-pistole, 1701. Fine—£3. Lot 249. Philip and Mary angel, *Rud.* pl. ix. n. 5. Very fine—£5 7*s*. 6*d*. Lot 272. Cromwell crown from the dies, repaired by Tanner—£5 5*s*. Lot 274. Charles II. crown, 1662. A brilliant proof, with plain edge—£7 12*s*. Lot 305. Pattern for a two-guinea piece, 1768, by Tanner—£5 5*s*. Lot 324. James V. bonnet-piece, 1540. Fine—£3 15*s*. Lot 325. James VI. hat-piece, 1592. Fine—£4 10*s*. Lot 491. Galba, *N*, Bon. event, busts of Fortune to right; rev. Rom. Renasc. Rome standing. Very fine, found in east Cornwall—£8.

The Whitbourn Cabinet, *Feb.* 2—4, contained valuable early British, Anglo-Saxon, and English coins, in gold and silver, realised £1,074 11*s*. 6*d*. Lot 22. Verica, *N*, *Ev.* pl. ii. n. 10. Very fine—£9 12*s*. Lot 23. Verica, *R*, *Ev.* pl. iii. n. 3. Unique, from Farley Heath—£7. Lot 25. Epaticcus, *N*, *Ev.* pl. viii. n. 12. Supposed to have been found in the vicinity of Guildford—£50. Lot 40. Baldred, *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiv. p. 146. Unique type, found near Guildford—£8 15*s*. Lot 45. Egberht, son of Offa, *Rud.* pl. v. n. 1. Very fine—£37 10*s*. Lot 49. Coenvulf. Unpublished; bust to right; rev. the

angles of a cross formed of circles, issuing from the centre circle containing a pellet. Unique—£7. Lot 52. Aethilheard, Abp. Canterbury, under Coenvulf. Fine—£15. Lot 61. Anlaf, type, *Rud.* pl. ii. n. 1. Very fine—£11 5*s*. Lot 67. Ecgbeorht. Unpublished; in the centre a double monogram, possibly intended for MERCIORUM; rev. a cross-crosslet in the centre. Unique, and extremely fine—£24 5*s*. Lot 80. Aelfred. Unpublished, cf. *Num. Chron.*, vol. v. pl. i. n. 4; rev. BVRGNOÐ., long cross with crescent-shaped ends, &c. Extra fine—£16. Lot 81. Aelfred, Lind. Heptarchy, iv. n. 97; rev. ⁘ $\frac{\text{E}}{\text{A}}$ X ⁘ = Exeter mint. Very fine—£22 10*s*. Lot 108. Harthacnut, *Rud.* xxiv. n. 4; York mint. Unpublished—£8 5*s*. Lot. 110. Harthacnut, *Rud.* pl. D. n. 41. Fine—£5 7*s*. 6*d*. Lot. 133. Henry I. penny, *Hks.* 251. Canterbury mint—£4 10*s*. Lot. 153. Stephen penny, *Hks.* 271; bust with flag and star. Very fine—£10 10*s*. Lot 154. Stephen penny; obv. *Hks.* 278, but with sceptre fleur-de-lisé; rev. *Hks.* 271. Unpublished—£6. Lot. 156. Stephen penny, *Hks.* 277. Derby mint—£710. Lot 157. Eustace penny, *Hks.* 282, with lion of York passant—£7 5*s*. Lot 158. Eustace penny, *Hks.* 283; half-length figure to right with sword—£6 2*s*. 6*d*. Lot 171. Edward III. quarter-noble, 18th year; wt. 34½ grs.; arms within a double tressure of six curves, &c.; rev. large ⊄ in the centre of cross fleury, the whole within a double tressure of eight curves. Unpublished—£7 5*s*. Lot 207. Henry VII. shilling, *Rud.* vi. n. 18—£6. Lot 226. Edward VI. groat, *Rud.* ix. n. 1; *m.m.* Arrow. Fine—£6 6*s*. Lot 238. Edward VI. angel, *Rud.* viii. n. 4; *m.m.* Dragon's head—£21 10*s*. Lot 240. Edward VI. crown, *Rud.* vii. n. 5; *m.m.* Arrow. Fine—£5 2*s*. 6*d*. Lot 246. Mary half-groat, *Hks.* iv. 31. Very fine—£6. Lot 259. Elizabeth sovereign, *Rud.* x. n. 3; but a larger bust, and greater profusion of long back-hair. Unpublished, extremely fine—£10 2*s*. 6*d*. Lot 261. Elizabeth noble or ryal, *Rud.* ix. n. 7; *m.m.* Crescent. Very fine—£22. Lot 277. James I. noble or ryal, *Rud.* xii. n. 2; *m.m.* Escallop. Fine—£8. Lot 316. Cromwell two-shilling piece, 1658. Fine—£10. Lot 323. Cromwell half-broad, 1656. Very fine—£11. Lot 325. Charles II. REDDITE crown, by Simon. Poor—£6.

AN EMINENT COLLECTOR'S CABINET, *April* 10—12.—Lot. 46. Nigrinian, 3 Æ; rev. Eagle—£5. Lot 51. Julius Cæsar, *N*; head of the Dictator to right; rev. bare head of Octavian. Fine—£16 5*s*. Lot 52. Marc. Antony, *N*; head of Antony;

rev. head of Octavian—£12 10s. Lot 59. Galba, *N*; bare head to right; rev. S. P. Q. R., &c., within an oak garland—£8. Lot 60. Otho, *N*; bare bust to right; rev. VICTORIA OTHONIS, Victory to right—£14 10s. Lot 61. Vitellius, *N*; bust to right; rev. PONT. MAXIM, figure seated—£10 10s. Lot 72. Commodus, *N*; bust to right; rev. SECURITAS, &c. Fine—£15 10s. Lot 73. Pertinax; *N*, rev. Equity to left. Extra fine—£18 18s. Lot 74. Caracalla, *N*; rev. Jove seated to left. Fine—£9. Lot 75. Elagabalus; *N*, rev. VICTOR. ANTONINI. AUG.; Victory to right. Fine—£15 5s. Lot. 76. Alexander Severus, *N*; bust to right; rev. Emperor standing to left—£9 5s. Lot 134. Caecilia, *Æ*; female standing full-faced; rev. Victory with the round Macedonian shield and caduceus relating to the victories of Metellus, &c. Very fine—£8 15s. Lot 168. Camarina, *Æ*, tetradrachm; head of youthful Hercules to left; rev. KAMAPINAIΩN, fast Quadriga to right, &c.—£16. Lot 175. Naxos, *Æ*, tetradrachm; head of Bacchus to right; rev. NAΞION., old Silenus squatting. Very fine—£15 10s. Lot 176. Syracusan medallion, *Æ*, s. 11; head of Proserpine to left. Very fine—£19 10s. Lot 218. Cleopatra and Marc Antony medallion, *Æ*, of the usual legends—£9 5s.

THE DUTHIEUL CABINET.—*May* 25. Lot 10. Double Daric, *N*. s. 4 by 5; wt. 253 grs. Archer on one knee—£14 14s. Lot 17. Seleucus I. *N*.; wt. 253 grs.; head covered with the skin of an elephant; rev. Victory; in the field ΔI, and the bridled head of a horse, with bull's horns, the type of Alexander the Great. Fine—£50. Lot 71. Sapor I., *N*; Longpérier, pl. iii. n. 1. Very fine—£6. Lot 76. Izdegerd II., *N*., s. 5½; bust to right with crescent on forehead; rev. fire-altar between two standing figures, &c. Very fine—£6 10s. Lot 121. Trajanus Decius, *N*; rev. ADVENTUS AUG.; Emperor on horseback to left—£8 2s. 6d. Lot 122. Diocletian, *N*; rev., CONCORDIÆ AUGG. N.N., Diocletian and Maximian seated to left—£9 10s. Lot 124. Pertinax, *N*; rev. LÆTITIA. TEMPOR. COS. II. Very fine—£11.

THE ELLIS CABINET.—*May* 26. Lot 20. Cynethryth, Queen of Offa; a variety of *Hks.* 65—£8 10s.

THE DUNCOMBE CABINET.—*June* 21—23. Lot 91. Commonwealth crown, 1652. Very fine. From the Durrant Cabinet—£10 15s. Lot 101. Oliver Cromwell crown, 1658; From the Tyssen, Trattle, and Durrant cabinets—£11. Lot 104. Cromwell crown, 1658; in the choicest state—£9 9s. Lot 122. Cromwell fifty-shilling piece, 1656; from the Hollis Cabinet—£44. Lot 126. Cromwell half-broad, 1656. From the Dimsdale and Durrant cabinets—£26 10s. Lot 127.

Cromwell crown, 1658; a fine proof in gold. From the Thomas cabinet—£27. Lot 140. Charles II. crown, 1664; ANNO. REGNI. XVI.; in a brilliant state. From the Hodsoll, Tyssen, Durrant, Baker, and Murchison cabinets—£20 10*s*. Lot 155. Charles II.; pattern for a crown, 1662, in gold; brilliant. From the Baker cabinet—£18. Lot 190. Anne five-guinea, 1703; VIGO. From the Devonshire and Maydwell cabinets—£12 5*s*. Lot 191. Anne five-guinea, 1706. Fine, and the usual type of this date after the Union—£13. Lot 221. George II. five-guinea, 1731; QUARTO. A brilliant proof—£11.

THE BROWN CABINET, *July* 26—31, contained Greek and Roman gold, and Anglo-Saxon and English gold and silver, realised £2,997 5*s*. 6*d*. Lot 1. Rhoda Tarraconensis, Æ, 4½, POΔHTΩN; head of Ceres to left; rev. full-blown rose—£16 10*s*. Lot 8. Epeirus, in genere, Æ 8; heads of Jupiter and Juno to right; rev., AΠEIPΩTAN, bull butting—£5 5*s*. Lot 10. Syracuse medallion, Æ 12. Usual type, but a charming specimen—£13. Lot 38. Philip V., Æ 8½; head of the hero Perseus; rev. BAΣIΛEΩΣ ΦIΛIΠΠOY, club within a wreath of ivy, of unusual style of work—£10 10*s*. Lot 59. Pompeius Magnus, Æ; rev. the Catanian Brothers, &c.; a perfect specimen—£5 5*s*. Lot 86. Constans I. medallion, Æ 11; wt. 204$\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; rev. TRIUMPHATOR GENTIUM BARBARUM. From the Pembroke cabinet—£15 15*s*. Lot 113. Caracalla, 1 Æ; rev. Europa in a biga of bulls—£8. Lot 117. Barbia Orbiana, 1 Æ; rev. CONCORDIA AUGUSTORUM—£8 5*s*. Lot 118. Gordianus Africanus Senior, 1 Æ; rev. VICTORIA AUGG.—£8 8*s*. Lot 149. Julius and Augustus, *N*; laureate head of Julius; rev. bare head of Octavius—£21 10*s*. Lot 153. Marc. Antony and Octavius, *N*. Fine—£7. Lot 167. Germanicus and Caligula, *N*, with their heads—£10. Lot 168. Agrippina Senior and Caligula, *N*. A variety not in Cohen—£7. Lot 179. Otho, *N*; rev. PAX. ORBIS. TERRARUM—£9. Lot 195. Domitia, *N*; rev. CONCORDIA. AUGUST. Peacock to right—£15 15*s*. Lot 205. Matidia, *N*; rev. PIETAS. AUGUST.—£8 8*s*. Lot 206. Hadrian, *N*; rev. Africa, the province personified—£8 8*s*. Lot 241. Pertinax, *N*; rev. Providence standing to left—£9 15*s*. Lot 243. Severus and Caracalla, IMPP. INVICTI. PII. AUGG; laureate and paludated busts to right; rev. VICTORIA PARTHICA MAXIMA £11 11*s*. Lot 244. Julia Domna, *N*; rev. MATER. AUGG. Cybele seated—£11. Lot 257. Philip Senior, *N*; rev. Emperor seated to left on Curule chair—£43. Lot 263. Aurelian, *N*; rev. Mars walking, with trophy and spear—£10 10*s*. Lot 264. Tacitus, *N*; rev. ROMAE AETERNAE, Rome seated—£12. Lot 965. Probus, *N*; rev. SECURITAS SÆCULI. Securitas seated—£11. Lot 270. Maximian Hercules, *N*; rev. HERCULI

DEBELLAT, Hercules and the Hydra—£15. Lot 271. Allectus, *N*; rev. PAX. AUG., Peace standing to left. Found at Reading —£71. Lot 273. Licinius Senior, *N*; s. 5; wt. 82 grs.; LICINIUS AUG. OB. D[ECENNALIA] V[OTA] FILII SVI., infantile bust traboated; rev. JOVI. CONS. LICINI. AUG., Jupiter seated; probably unique. From the Pembroke sale—£71. Lot 286. Valens medallion, *N*; s. 7; wt 101$\frac{9}{10}$ grs.; paludated bust to right, with jewelled diadem; rev. FELIX. ADVENTUS. AUG. N. Emperor on horseback—£59. Lot 342. Anlaf, King of Northumberland, *Rud.* pl. 11, n. 1. Fine—£9. Lot 379. Harthacnut, *Rud.* 24. n. 1. Dover mint—£7 15*s*. Lot 380. Harthacnut, *Rud.* 24, n. 2. Nottingham mint—£9 9*s*. Lot 436. Henry VII. sovereign, *Rud.* 4, n. 4; *m.m.* lis and dragon. From the Dimsdale and Durrant cabinets—£31. Lot 461. Edward VI. fine sovereign, 4th year; *Rud.* 8, n. 2; *m.m.* dragon's head, usual type. From the Grey, Mead, Willet, and Durrant cabinets—£46. Lot 472. Edward VI. half-sovereign pattern; third year; *Rud.* 7, n. 12. From its wt., 48 grs., probably a crown—£12 12*s*. Lot 501. Elizabeth noble or ryal; *Rud.* 10, n. 1.; usual type. From the Henderson, Bolland, and White cabinets—£15 10*s*. Lot 522. James I. noble or ryal; *Rud.* 12, n. 2; *m.m.* castle. Usual type—£12 12*s*. Lot 524. James I. fifteen-shilling piece; *Rud.* 12, n. 6; *m.m.* trefoil. From the White cabinet—£16 16*s*. Lot 528. Charles I. Oxford pound piece, *At*; fine work; *Snell.* pl. 12, n. 18. From the Pembroke and White cabinets—£26. Lot 555. Charles I. crown; *Snell.* pl. 6, n. 7. A pattern of excessive rarity—£43. Lot 574. Charles I. FIVE-BROAD PIECE; an extraordinary pattern; *m.m.* rose; bare-headed bust of the king to left, with long, flowing hair, and Vandyke lace collar; rev. FLORENT. CONCORDIA. REGNA. Arms in high relief; unique—£345. This remarkable piece is supposed to have been presented to Bishop Juxon by the king on the morning of his execution. Lot 596. Commonwealth, Ramage's pattern half-crown. From the Russell cabinet—£15 15*s*. Lot 611. Oliver Cromwell half-broad, 1656. Type as the broad; plain edge—£21. Lot 618. Charles II., the celebrated petition crown, by Simon, 1663; fairly preserved. From the White Cabinet—£32. Lot 659. Anne pattern guinea; bare bust of the queen to left, with love-lock over her left shoulder; rev. royal arms cruciformly arranged, with sceptre in the angles, A.R. *mon.* 1702. From the Cuff cabinet—£35. Lot 692. George III. five-sovereign piece, 1820. By Pistrucci; very rare—£23. Lot 709. William IV. crown, *N*; 1831. A brilliant proof—£21 10*s*.

XVIII.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

(*Continued from* p. 246.)

By Major-General A. Cunningham.

The coins which I am now about to describe belong to the Greek Princes of India, who would appear to have been the contemporaries of Eukratides. As they are all quite unknown to history, I must claim every indulgence for the few remarks which I am able to offer, as they are simply based on inferences, derived either from the coins themselves, or from the places of their discovery. It is fortunate, therefore, that the coins of the Greek Princes of Ariana and India are so varied and so novel in type that they naturally suggest numerous inferences and associations, such as have not yet been wrung from the monotonous series of Egypt, Syria, and Parthia, by the most patient investigations of many enquirers during the past three centuries.

In dealing with these Eastern Greek kings we encounter a difficulty of a peculiar kind, which is not met with, so far as I am aware, in treating of other royal dynasties. In some cases there is a paucity of names to fill up the required interval of time; but with the Greek Princes of Ariana and India our embarrassment is caused by the

number of kings whom we have to crowd into the short period that elapsed between the rise of the Bactrian kingdom under Diodotus, in B.C. 246, and the final extinction of the Greek power in the East by the Indo-Scythians, about B.C. 126. Over this brief period of one hundred and twenty years, we have to distribute no less than twenty-nine princes, whose pure Greek names declare them to have ruled before the Indo-Scythian invasion. From their number it is certain that they could not have been successive rulers of the same province; and it is therefore a legitimate inference that they must have been the contemporary sovereigns of different but neighbouring States.

Wilson experienced the same difficulty in dealing even with the much smaller number of names that were known in his time. Some of these princes, he inferred, must have governed for many years over extensive territories, but the whole of them could not have reigned in succession, and therefore he concluded that "some of them must have been contemporary from the time of Eukratides, or even earlier."[1] He considered that "the aggressions of the Parthians, combined with other causes, produced a state of general confusion, in which different members of the reigning dynasty, or mere military adventurers, erected petty independent principalities. In this way only" could he "explain the existence of the many Greek princes whose names are preserved in the Bactrian coins, and who are posterior to historical identification." Wilson's "Ariana Antiqua," which was published in 1841, described the coins of twenty kings with pure Greek names; but my "Chronological Table," which

[1] Ariana Antiqua, p. 266.

was lithographed at Lucknow in the same year, gave five additional names,[2] and I have since added four others, making a total number of twenty-nine pure Greek princes. Since then my views have been much modified by new discoveries; but I have adhered to the same principles of classification, by endeavouring to discover the seat of each king's rule from the find-spots and monograms of his coins. Following this clue, I have been led to distinguish the three separate kingdoms of Bactriana, Ariana, and India, which were generally united under the more powerful princes, such as Euthydemus, Demetrius, and Eukratides. After the loss of Bactriana, the southern provinces were held for a short time by his sons Apollodotus and Heliokles; but Ariana was soon wrested from them by Mithridates, and the possessions of the Eastern Greek kings were subsequently confined to the Kabul valley and Panjab and the provinces on the Indus.

I have already described the three separate principalities of Bactriana, Ariana, and India; but none of the coins which I have previously published, with the single exception of Antimachus Theos, belonged to the Greek princes of India. It is true that both Demetrius and Eukratides held possession of the Panjab and Sindh; but they were kings of Bactriana, who extended their arms eastward to India, whereas the kings whose coins I am now about to describe were the actual rulers of North-west India, who extended their arms westward to Kabul. The seat of their rule is determined chiefly by the find-spots of their coins, and partly also by the monograms, many of which, as they occur on the coins of several successive princes,

[2] These were Straton, Hippostratus, Telephus, Nikias, and Dionysius. Those since added are Artemidorus, Epander, Theophilus, and Apollophanes.

can only represent the names of mint-cities. The period of their rule is less certain. It may, however, be inferred from the general fabric of their coins, and their superiority to those of Apollodotus and Menander, that they must have been contemporaries of Eukratides, a conclusion which seems to be fully borne out by the adoption on his latest coins of the type of Zeus Nikephoros, which was certainly borrowed from the coins of Antialkidas.

COINS OF ANTIMACHUS II. NIKEPHOROS.

1. ○ Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VII. Fig. 1. Author, 36 grs. Ariana Antiqua, ii., 15. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Winged figure of Victory moving to left, with palm-branch in her right hand, and wreath in her left. In field to left No. 86 mon. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ. The only other monograms on these coins are Nos. 18, 58, and 87.

Rev.—King on horseback, with Kausia or Macedonian cap, galloping to right. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antimakhasa.*

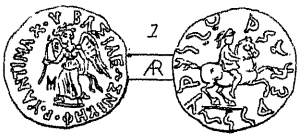
2. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* Plate VII. Fig. 2. Author, 142 grs. Duplicates: E. I. Mus., 118 grs., engraved in Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxii., 11, and Bodleian Library, Oxford, 163 grs.; described by author in Jour. Bengal Asiat. Soc., 1840, p. 392. Thomas, No. 3. Only these three specimens known.

Obv.—Ægis of Pallas; or human head to front, with four outspread wings, with claws at the points and junction of the wings. Legend on three sides, as on No. 1, but with K instead of X in the name.

Rev.—Wreath and palm of Victory. In field below an indistinct monogram, like No. 89. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 1.

N.B. The square copper coin, pl. ii., fig. 16 of Ariana Antiqua, which is attributed by Wilson to Antimachus, is a well known

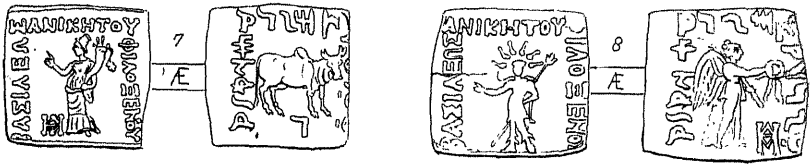
ANTIMACHUS Nikephoros.



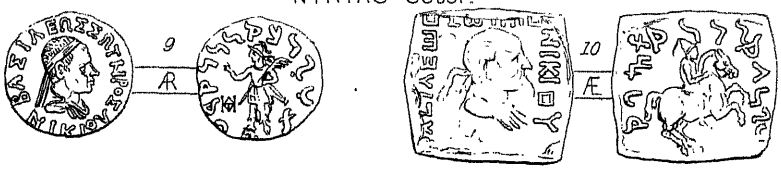
PHILOXENES Aniketos.







NIKIAS Soter.



EPANDER Nikephoros.



THEOPHILUS Dikaios.



J. J. Lees. Delt

PLATE VII.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

coin of Moas. I recognise it not only by both its types, but also by its Arian legend, which is peculiar in offering the title of *Rajadirajasa* as the translation of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. See Thomas, No. 5 of Moas, for a description of the actual coin.

PHILOXENES. Aniketos.

1. ○ Æ 10. *Didrachma.* Plate VII., Fig. 3. Brit. Mus., from Sir H. Edwardes. 151 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.—King helmeted, on horseback, galloping to right. In field below No. 140 monogram, but of round shape. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa apaphihatasa Philasinasa*, which is blundered in the second word, the letter *phi* being a mistake for *di*.

2. ○ Æ 10. *Didrachma.* Plate VII., Fig. 4. General Ventura's collection, engraved in Jour. des Savants, 1836, pl. ii., 5, and Ariana Antiqua, pl. ii., 17. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Helmeted and diademed head of king to right; the helmet ornamented with the ear and horn of a bull, like that of Eukratides. Shoulder covered with the chlamys. Circular legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 1.

3. □ Æ 6. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VII., Fig. 5. Author, 37 grs. See Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxi., 13. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right; his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.—King helmeted and diademed, on horseback, galloping to right. In field below No. 58 monogram. On other specimens, Nos, 17, 107, and 150.

4. □ Æ 6. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VII., Fig. 6. Author, 37 grs. Thomas, No. 1a.

Obv.—Helmeted and diademed head of king to right; his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Legend as on No. 3.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 3. In field below No. 17 monogram. On other specimens, No. 58 and 150.

5. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* Plate VII., Fig. 7. Author, 126 grs. Jour. des Savants, 1836, pl. ii., 6; Ariana Antiqua, pl. ii., 18. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Demeter Karpophoros standing to left, holding a cornucopiæ in her left hand, and pointing with the forefinger of her right hand. In field to left No. 58 monogram. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ. On other specimens Nos. 89 and 108 monograms.

Rev.—Humped Indian bull to right. In field below the Arian letter T or R. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa apadihatasa Philasinasa.*

6. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* Plate VII., Fig. 8. Brit. Mus., 124 grs. Unique. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Radiated figure of Apollo, clad in skins, standing to the front, holding a long sceptre in his left hand, and pointing with the forefinger of his right hand. Legend on three sides as on No. 5.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory moving to right, holding a palm in her left hand and a wreath in her right hand. In field to right No. 58 monogram. Arian legend as on No. 5.

NIKIAS. Soter.

1. ○ Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VII., Fig. 9. Author, 36 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure of the king standing to the front, holding the palm of Victory in his left hand, and pointing with the forefinger of his right hand. In field to left No. 58 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa trâdâtasa Nikiasa.*

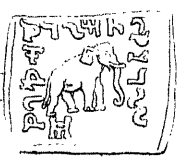
LYSIAS Aniketos.


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ANTIALKIDAS Nikephoros.


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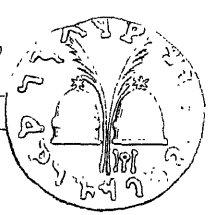



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COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

2. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon.* Plate VII., Fig. 9. Author, 130 grs. See also author in Jour. Bengal Asiat. Soc., xi. p. 136, and Thomas, No. 1. Only these three specimens known.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Legend on three sides, BAΓΙΛE⊔Γ Γ⊔THP□Γ NIKI□Y—.

Rev.—King helmeted and diademed on horseback, galloping to right. Arian legend as on No. 1.

It is worthy of notice that the late square form of the omikron, sigma, and omega, which are seen on this coin, as well as on the duplicate published by Mr. Thomas, are not found on the specimen originally published by me in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and which is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

LYSIAS. Aniketos.

1. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VIII., Fig. 1. Author, 37 grs. Ariana Antiqua. pl. ii., 9. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Head of king to right, with helmet of elephant's spoils, the tusks projected forward, and the trunk raised upwards. King's shoulder covered with the chlamys. Circular legend BAΣIΛEΩΣ ANIKHTOY ΛYΣIOY.

Rev.—Herakles standing to the front, with club, lion's skin, and palm of Victory in his left hand, and crowning himself with his right hand with the wreath of Victory. In the field to left No. 89 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa apadihatasa Lisiasa.* Most specimens of this type render the name in Arian characters as *Lisikasa.* Other monograms are Nos. 17 and 108.

2. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VIII., Fig. 2. Author, 37 grs. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Head of king helmeted and diademed to right; the helmet ornamented with the ear and horn of a bull, as on the coins of Eukratides. Circular legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 1. In field to left No. 89 monogram. On some specimens the name is rendered in Arian characters as *Lisikasa*.

3. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate VIII., Fig. 3. Author, 128 grs. Jour. des Savants, 183, plate ii., 8. Ariana Antiqua, pl. ii., 10. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Bearded head of Herakles to right, with club over left shoulder. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Indian elephant moving to right. In field below No. 89 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa apadihatasa Lisikasa*. The name is thus written on all the copper coins that I have seen. Other monograms are Nos. 58 and 108.

4. ○ Æ *Dichalkon*. Thomas, No. 4, from Col. Bush's collection.

Types and legend as on No. 3.

LYSIAS AND ANTIALKIDAS.

1. □ Æ 7. *Dichalkon*. Plate VIII., Fig. 4. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Unique.

Obv.—Bearded head of Herakles with club to right, as on No. 3 of Lysias. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Egg-shaped caps of the Dioskuri, surmounted by stars, with two palm branches between. In field below No. 108 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialikidasa*.

ANTIALKIDAS. NIKEPHOROS.

1. ○ Æ 14. *Tetradrachma*. Plate VIII., Fig. 5. 257 grs. E. I. Museum, from Gen. Abbott. Unique. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, his shoulder covered with the chlamys; the whole surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading.

Rev.—Draped figure of Zeus Nikephoros seated, and half turned to left, with sceptre in left hand, and a small figure of Victory in right hand. Victory

holds a palm in her left hand, and with her right hand extends a wreath to the forepart of an approaching Indian elephant, which stands with upraised trunk to receive the wreath. The elephant has a bell suspended from his neck by a cord. Legend in one semicircular line above and one horizontal line below, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ. In field to right No. 89 monogram.

2. Ο Æ 8. *Drachma.* Plate VIII., Fig. 6. Mionnet, Supplement viii., p. 483, plate. Cabinet of M. Révil.

Obv.—Diademed head of king to right, covered with the kausia, or Macedonian royal cap, and shoulder clad in the chlamys; the whole surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading.

Rev.—Draped figure of Zeus Nikephoros with sceptre, Victory, and forepart of elephant, as on No. 1; but the elephant has received the wreath from Victory, and is marching away from Zeus. Circular legend as on No. 1.

3. Ο Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VIII., Fig. 7. Brit. Mus., 34·5 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, as on No. 1. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev.—Zeus seated, as on No. 1, with sceptre in his left hand, and holding out in his right hand a wreath and palm, the symbols of Victory, towards a small elephant, which stands sideways, with upraised trunk, to receive them. The figure of Victory, which is found on all the other silver coins of Antialkidas, is omitted on this unique coin. In field to right No. 58 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialikidasa.*

4. Ο Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Author, 37·5 grs. Ariana Antiqua, pl. ii., 12. Thomas, No. 1a.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, his shoulder covered with chlamys. Circular legend as on No. 3.

Rev.—Zeus Nikephoros, with Victory and approaching elephant, as on No. 1. In field to right No. 58 monogram. Circular Arian legend, as on No. 3.

4a. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Author's unpublished lithographed plates, vii., fig. 1.

Obv.—Bare head, as on No. 3.

Rev.—Type as No. 3, but the elephant is marching away with the wreath.

5. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VIII., Fig. 8. Author, 36 grs. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Head of king helmeted and diademed to right, his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Circular legend, as on No. 3.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 3. In field to right No. 58 monogram.

5a. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Author, 37 grs.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king, and legend as on No. 4.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 4a; with the elephant marching off with the wreath of Victory. In field to right No. 58 monogram.

6. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Author, 37·5 grs. Ariana Antiqua, pl. ii., 11. Thomas, No. 2a.

Obv.—Diademed head of the king covered with the kausia, or Macedonian cap, and his shoulder clad in the chlamys. Legend as on No. 3.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 3; with the elephant receiving the wreath from Victory. In the field to right No. 89 monogram.

6. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VIII., Fig. 9. Author, 37 grs.

Obv.—Type and legend as on No. 6.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 4a; with the elephant marching off with the wreath. In field to right No. 58 monogram.

7. O Æ 10. *Dichalkon.* Plate VIII., Fig. 10. Author, 120 grs. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Bearded and laurelled head of Zeus to right, with thunderbolt in upraised right hand. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev.—Egg-shaped caps of the Dioskuri, surmounted by stars, and with two palm branches between

them. In field below No. 89 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialikidasa.*

7a. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* Author, 128 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 7.

8. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* Plate VIII., Fig, 11. Author, 128 grs. Jour. des Savants, 1835, pl. ii., 15; Ariana Antiqua, pl. ii., 13. Thomas, No. 5.

Obv.—Bearded head of Zeus to right, with thunderbolt resting on left shoulder. Legend on three sides, as on No. 7.

Rev.—Egg-shaped cap of the Dioskuri, as on No. 7. In field below No. 58 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 7.

THEOPHILUS. Dikaios.

1. ○ Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VII., Fig. 13. Author, 36 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.

Rev.—Figure of Herackles to front, holding club and lion's skin in left hand, and crowning himself with wreath of Victory with his right hand. In field to left No. 150 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa dhamikasa Theüphilasa.*

2. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* Plate VII., Fig. 14. Author, 131 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Head of Herakles to right, with club over left shoulder. Legend on three sides, as on No. 1.

Rev.—Cornucopiæ. In field to left No. 58 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 1.

EPANDER. Nikephoros.

1. ○ Æ 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate VIII., Fig. 11. Author, 19 grs.; broken and worn. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right; his shoulder covered with the chlamys. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure of Athene Promachos to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand. In field to right No. 106 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Epandrasa.*

2. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon.* Plate VII., Fig. 12. Author, 152 grs. Three specimens, Author; Two specimens, E. I. Museum, from Gen. Abbott.

Obv.—Winged figure of Victory, with palm and wreath, moving rapidly to right. Legend on three sides, as on No. 1.

Rev.—Humped Indian bull to right. In field to right No. 106 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 1.

Antimachus II. (Nikephoros.)

The position which I claim for Antimachus II. is different from that assigned to him by Wilson, who supposes him to have "founded a principality immediately above the Hazara Mountains, to the west of the Balkh road."[3] According to this description, Antimachus must have been the ruler of Shibrgân and Maimuna, or Western Bactria. But this locality is quite incompatible with the Arian legends on his coins; and Wilson must have forgotten that he himself was the first who gave the name of Arianian to these characters, because they were found to be restricted to the coins of the Greek princes of Ariana proper, or the provinces of Aria, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, to the south of the Kaukasus. If they had occurred on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria, it is almost certain that they would have been called *Bactrian* characters, as the name of Bactria was then much better known than that of Ariana. Lassen

[3] Ariana Antiqua, p, 274.

calls them Kabulian characters, and argues that their use prevents him from acceding to R. Rochette's suggestion that Philoxenes ruled to the north of the mountains, and fought against the Scythians.[4] The same argument is even employed by Wilson himself in another case, where he says that "the use of the Arianian characters places Lysias on the south of the mountains, out of Bactria proper."[5]

Wilson was most probably induced to place Antimachus in this westerly position from the fact that Masson had procured more of his coins from the Hazara Mountains than from Begram.[6] But out of twenty-five coins which I have been able to trace, all, except the seven specimens obtained by Masson, were procured to the eastward, or in Jalalabad, Peshawar, and the Panjab. The actual numbers are in Hazara and Begram, seven; in Jalalabad and Peshawar, eleven; and in the Panjab, seven; which point to the Lower Kabul valley as the chief seat of the dominions of Antimachus. This conclusion is supported by my readings of the monograms, as just one half of his coins known to me, or twenty-six out of fifty specimens, bear No. 58 monogram, which I read as *Demetrias*, the name that I suppose to have been given by the Greeks either to Peukelaotis or to Peshawar. One-tenth of his coins bear No. 18 monogram, which I read as *Dionysopolis*, or Jalalabad. Of the remaining coins, three-tenths bear No. 86, and one-tenth No. 87 monogram, both of which may be read as ΠΕΥΚΕΛ, for *Peukelaotis*. These two monograms are found also on the coins of Menander, but

[4] Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins, p. 30, English translation.

[5] Ariana Antiqua, p. 269.

[6] Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, 1836, p. 15.

not on those of any other princes. Altogether, the balance of evidence, as derived from the find-spots of the coins, as well as from the readings of the monograms, is decidedly in favour of the eastern position which I have assigned to the kingdom of Antimachus in the Lower Kabul valley. This conclusion is corroborated by the testimony of Colonel Stacy and Captain Hutton, neither of whom obtained even a single specimen during their long residence in Kandahar and its neighbourhood.

The date of Antimachus is more difficult to determine; but the evident superiority in the fabric of his coins has led every enquirer to place him before Philoxenes, Lysias, and Antialkidas; and as there are strong reasons for believing that the type of Zeus Nikephoros on the latest copper coins of Eukratides is copied from the coins of Antialkidas,[7] I conclude that all these four princes were most probably the contemporaries of Eukratides. Masson was satisfied that Antimachus could not have reigned after Eukratides, and was even inclined to place him before that prince.[8] Wilson makes them all posterior to Eukratides, but admits that some of them may have been earlier.[9] My own conjecture is that Antimachus Nikephoros was the grandson of Antimachus Theos, and that on the rebellion of Eukratides against Demetrius, he managed to make himself independent in the Lower Kabul valley. I suppose that he at first assisted Eukratides in

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[7] See Plate VI., Figs. 5 and 6, of Eukratides, and Plate VIII., Figs. 5 to 9, of Antialkidas.

[8] Journal Bengal Asiat. Soc., 1836, p. 15. "The beauty of the coins of Antimachus, the excellence of their execution and designs, allow us not to place this prince subsequent to Eukratides, whose coins in these particulars they surpass."

[9] Ariana Antiqua, p. 266.

his successful revolt, and was afterwards supported by that prince against the attacks of Demetrius from the Panjab.

The coins of Antimachus II. are limited to two types—one in silver, and one in copper. On the silver coins we see the figure of Victory hastening to present her wreath and palm to the king, who appears on horseback on the other side. On the rare copper coins we see only the symbols of Victory joined to a curious figure with a human head and four large outspread wings. It is possible that this may be intended for the Ægis of Pallas, in a new form; but the figure has so much the appearance of outspread wings as to suggest the conjecture that the type may be a symbol of power and swiftness of motion, and may thus indicate the rapidity and completeness of the king's victory. It has also struck me as not improbable that there may be some allusion to the name of Aornos, and its capture by Antimachus from the governor of Demetrius. The Greek form of the name was intended to convey a description of the inaccessibility of the rock, even to birds.[10]

Τοὔνεκα μίν καὶ φῶτες ἐπικλέιουσιν Ἀορνιν.

The same thing was said of the hill-fort of Arimazes in Sogdiana; and when the Macedonian conqueror summoned him to surrender, he haughtily enquired, "whether Alexander could fly?" on which the king remarked that on the following night he would know that the Macedonians could even fly.[11] Now, I think it not improbable

[10] Dionys. Perieg. Orb. Descript., v. 1151, which Priscian, in v. 1056, renders by

"Unde locis Graii posuerunt nomen Aornin."

[11] Q. Curt., Vit. Alex. VII., 11. "Superbe multa respondit, ad ultimum, au Alexander volare possit, inrerrogat. . . . . Se autem proxima nocte effecturum, ut crederat Macedonas etiam volare."

that a similar story may be typified on these coins of Antimachus, and that the winged figure, joined to the symbols of Victory, may be intended to record the capture of the famous fort of Aornos, on the western bank of the Indus.

As the coins of Antimachus are rare, his reign must have been a short one; and as I have fixed his accession contemporary with that of Eukratides, in B.C. 190, the close of his reign may be placed about B.C. 185.

Philoxenes. (Aniketos.)

Wilson remarks that "the several scholars and numismatists who have investigated the subject agree in recognising this prince as the successsor of Antimachus."[12] I have also arrived at the same conclusion, partly because Philoxenes has adopted the horseman type, but chiefly on account of the close similarity in the style and fabric of his copper coins to those of Antimachus.

The coins of Philoxenes are not so rare as those of Antimachus, and they are more varied both in size and in type. Not a single specimen of his coinage was found by Masson at Begram;[13] and Stacy did not obtain any either at Kandahar or at Kabul, although he got no less than twenty specimens on his arrival at Peshawar. Out of twenty-four other specimens, of which I have a record, all but two were procured near the banks of the Indus, at Ohind and Peshawar to the west, and at Attak, Shahdheri, and Rawul Pindi to the east. Judging, therefore, from the actual find-spots of his coins the seat of his rule must have been in the Lower Kabul valley.

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[12] Ariana Antiqua, p. 275.

[13] Journal Bengal Asiat. Soc., 1836, pp. 5 to 7.

The same conclusion is derived from my readings of the monograms, which show that nearly one-half of the coins of Philoxenes were minted at Demetrias (No. 58 mon.), and about one-fifth at Taxila. (No. 108 mon.) It is curious that not a single specimen bears the monogram of Dionysopolis (No. 18), although three coins were struck at Karsana (No. 17), and two coins at Ophiana itself (see No. 139 mon., and the didrachm, Fig. 2 of the accompanying plate). On the other hand we have a new monogram, No. 89, which I read as MOY, and suppose that it may be intended for Multan.

The types of the coins of Philoxenes add but little to our knowledge of his history. The figure of Victory and the title of Aniketos show that he must have been engaged in hostilities with some success, which were probably followed by peace and plenty, as indicated by the figure of Demeter Karpophoros on his copper coins. The humped bull I take to be the type of India, which thus corroborates the previous conclusion drawn from the monograms and find-spots of the coins, that the seat of his power was in the Lower Kabul valley, and on the banks of the Indus.

Putting all these indications together, I am inclined to suppose that Philoxenes, shortly after his accession, was attacked by Eukratides, and deprived of his western province of Nysa or Dionysopolis. But I conclude that he must have recovered it again, at least for a short time, as the monograms of Karsana and Ophiana would seem to show that he had invaded the territories of Eukratides, and had actually coined money in the capital of the Upper Kabul valley. But this success must have been very temporary, as I know of only five coins bearing these two monograms; and one of these coins, the

didrachm No. 3 of the accompanying plate, is of such inferior and faulty execution[14] as to betray the unsettled tenure of a hasty occupation.

Nikias. (Soter.)

Nikias is one of those ephemeral princes whose name is known to us only by a few rare coins. His silver coin is unique, and of his copper coinage only three specimens are known to me. He is connected with Antimachus and Philoxenes by the type of the horseman, and with the Greek kingdom of the Lower Kabul valley by the monogram of Demetrias, No. 58, which is the only one found on his coins. On the reverse of his silver coin the king appears on foot, carrying the palm of Victory; but the extreme rarity of his coins proves decisively that his reign must have been a short one. I conclude, therefore, that he lost his throne within a few months of his accession, after the death of Philoxenes in B.C. 180. His antagonist was, probably, Lysias, whom I suppose to have succeeded his father, Demetrius, on the throne of the Panjab about B.C. 180.

Lysias. (Aniketos.)

The connection between Demetrius and Lysias has already been noticed by Wilson;[15] but at the same time he remarks that "there are some considerations which militate against an immediate succession. The fabric of the coins, the square form of the copper coins, and the presence of Arianian letters, show both place and period different from that of Demetrius." These objections

[14] *Apaphihata* instead of *apadihata*, as the translation of Aniketos.

[15] Ariana Antiqua, p. 268.

have since been removed by the progress of discovery, as we now possess a square copper coin of Demetrius with an Arian legend;[16] while the inferiority of the later tetradrachms of Demetrius is so great as to range them with the ruder tetradrachms of Eukratides, and with the unique tetradrachm of Antialkidas engraved in the accompanying plate.

The points of connection between Demetrius and Lysias are the absolute identity of the king's elephant helmet, of the standing figure of Herakles crowning himself, and of the head of Herakles with the club over the left shoulder. These coincidences of type have always been considered as strong proofs of a connection, either in time or in place, or in both. Where history is silent such data are invaluable; and in the present instance I think that they are almost certain indications of a very close connection between Demetrius and Lysias.

The coins of Lysias are of nearly the same rarity as those of Philoxenes. Masson obtained fourteen specimens at Begram, and I have traced six others to Kabul; but about three-fourths of the number known to me have been procured at Peshawar and Rawul Pindi, and at other places in the neighbourhood of the Indus. The monograms also point to the same locality, according to my readings, as only three coins out of fifty-one bear the monogram of Karsana (No. 17), while the remaining forty-eight are equally divided between Demetrias (No. 58), Taxila (No. 108), and Multan (No. 89). Both the monograms and the find-spots of his coins, therefore, agree in pointing to the Lower Kabul valley and Panjab as the seat of the kingdom of Lysias, which is further

[16] See Plate IV., Fig. 11.

confirmed by the type of the Indian elephant on his copper coins.

The date of Lysias is more difficult to fix. Wilson has assigned him to B.C. 147;[17] but he has obtained this late date by bringing down the period of Menander's accession to B.C. 126; thus ignoring altogether the accepted date of the Indo-Scythian conquest, which is authenticated by the Chinese and classical authorities. By accepting their date of the Indo-Scythian occupation of the Kabul valley, the reigns of Apollodotus and Menander must be thrown back about thirty years before the period assigned to them by Wilson; and by applying the same correction to his date of Lysias, the accession of this prince may be fixed about B.C. 180, as I have already determined from other data. As his coins are rare, his reign must have been a short one, say of five years, and its close may therefore be placed approximately about B.C. 175.

Of the career of Lysias we know absolutely nothing, as his name is not mentioned in history. But I gather from the monograms of his coins that his kingdom originally comprised the Lower Kabul valley and the Panjab, and that for a short time he must have held the city of Karsana, to the north of Kabul. The type of Herakles crowning himself with a wreath, and holding a palm as well as the usual club, is no doubt intended to indicate the king's victorious career. His first success I would refer to the overthrow of Nikias, and the subversion of his kingdom; but his subsequent victories must have been obtained over the governor of Eukratides in the Upper Kabul valley, at a time when, I suppose, that prince to have been engaged in hostilities with the Scythians.

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[17] Ariana Antiqua, p. 268.

ANTIALKIDAS. (Nikephoros.)

The connection between Lysias and Antialkidas has been admitted by all inquirers, although they differ as to its nature, as well as in the relative positions of the two princes. According to Wilson, they were of different families, and either Lysias or his immediate successor was overthrown by Antialkidas.[18] Lassen, on the contrary, placed Lysias after Antialkidas;[19] while my own Chronological Table, which was prepared in 1841,[20] makes Antialkidas the son and successor of Lysias. My attribution was chiefly founded on the important coin, Plate VIII., Fig. 4, which bears their joint names, that of Lysias being on the obverse, or Greek side, and that of Antialkidas on the reverse, or Arian side. This junction of two names on the same coin is, I believe, generally admitted to denote the association of the younger prince in the government; and as the name of Antialkidas occupies the reverse of the coin, I infer that he was the prince so associated. It is quite certain that they ruled over the same kingdom, as they both use the same four monograms. I conclude, therefore, that Antialkidas was either the son or the younger brother of his predecessor, Lysias.

The four monograms used by Antialkidas are those which I read as Demetrias (No. 58), Taxila (No. 108), Multan (No. 89), and Karsana (No. 17). The last occurs on only 8 coins out of 118, of which I have a record, while

[18] Ariana Antiqua, p. 277.

[19] Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins, p. 131. English translation.

[20] Table lithographed at Lucknow in 1841, and published in the Numismatic Chronicle, viii., 175, for 1843.

the first is found on no less than 51 specimens, the second on 32, and the third on 27. These proportions are confirmed by the find-spots of 140 coins which I have noted. Of these 38 were obtained by Masson at Begram, 2 by other collectors at Kabul, and two at Jalalabad; but the remaining 98 specimens were procured at Peshawar, and at various places in the Panjab. From these data I conclude that the kingdom of Antialkidas must have comprised the Lower Kabul valley and the Panjab, and that for some time he must have held the city of Karsana, in the Upper Kabul valley, which had lately been occupied by his predecessor Lysias. I suppose this occupation to have continued whilst Eukratides was engaged in hostilities with Mithridates the Great of Parthia, or between 170 and 168 B.C. I think it probable that Mithridates and Antialkidas were acting in concert, and that the timely cession of the two satrapies of Aspiones and Turiva, which had been invaded by Mithridates,[21] may have bought off the more formidable Parthian, and thus left Eukratides free to oppose the Greek King of India with all the power of the Bactrian monarchy. Being thus abandoned by his Parthian ally, Antialkidas must have eventually succumbed, when his dominions were annexed to the Bactrian kingdom of Eukratides about B.C. 167.

The coins of Antialkidas offer only two distinct types on the reverse—one in silver, and one in copper—both of which are connected with the coins of Eukratides. On the coins we have the egg-shaped bonnets of the Dioskuri with their stars and palm branches. Now this is the well-known type of the smaller silver and copper pieces of

[21] Strabo, Geog. xi., 11, 2.

Eukratides; and as it is found on the earliest coinage of Antialkidas, bearing the joint names of himself and his predecessor, I conjecture that the type was adopted on the first occupation of Karsana by Lysias, and that Antialkidas was most probably associated in the kingdom at the same time. The silver coins bear the single type of Zeus Nikephoros, with three varieties of treatment. The commonest type represents Zeus holding a small figure of Victory, who extends her wreath to an approaching Indian elephant. On some coins the elephant has received the wreath of Victory, and is marching off with it. The third variety, which is found only on a single coin, represents Zeus himself holding out the wreath and palm of Victory to the Indian elephant. I understand these types to indicate the success of Antialkidas over Eukratides. The elephant typifies India, or the King of India, to whom Zeus Nikephoros presents the symbols of Victory.

Now this type is found on some very rare copper coins of Eukratides, which have already been described, and which I have shown to be the latest mintage of the Bactrian king.[22] On these coins Zeus Nikephoros is seated, with the palm over his left shoulder, and the wreath in his right hand, as if just taken from the Indian elephant, which stands dejected, with pendent trunk, to show that Victory had been wrested from the King of India by Eukratides. If my interpretation of these curious types is correct, they furnish the most conclusive proof that Antialkidas must have been the contemporary

[22] See Plate VI., Figs. 5 and 6, of the coins of Eukratides; and Ariana Antiqua, pl. iii., 11, on which the palm and wreath of Victory are held by Zeus himself, and the elephant stands dejected, with pendent trunk.

and antagonist of Eukratides. They help also to corroborate in the most satisfactory manner the conjectural sketch which I have given of the career of both princes.

The coins of Antialkidas are about twice as numerous as those of Lysias or Philoxenes, which would argue a longer reign. I suppose him to have been associated with Lysias about B.C. 176, and to have succeeded him in the following year. During the early part of his reign he was able to hold the Upper Kabul valley against the governors of Eukratides; but about B.C. 167 he was finally conquered and deprived of his kingdom, after a reign of eight years.

THEOPHILUS. (Dikaios.)

Only two coins of Theophilus have yet been discovered, which afford but a slight foundation to build any conjectures regarding his career. But, fortunately, both of these coins offer types which connect him with Lysias; while one of his two monograms, No. 58, is the commonest of Lysias and Antialkidas, and the other is found on the coins of Philoxenes. The fabric of his copper coin is also similar to that of the coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, so that all the data that we possess regarding Theophilus are strongly in favour of his connection with those princes. The standing figure of Herakles on the silver coin wants the palm branch of the coins of Lysias; but the head itself is smaller, and its general treatment is more like that of the head of Zeus on the coins of Antialkidas. The cornucopiæ on the reverse of the copper coin is the symbol of Demeter Karpophoros, which again connects him with Philoxenes, who ruled over the same

kingdom. The silver coin was obtained at Rawul Pindi, and the copper coin at Syâlkot.

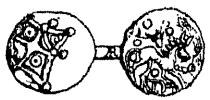
From all these data I would hazard a conjecture that Theophilus was the son of Lysias, and the younger brother of Antialkidas, and that he either disputed his brother's succession immediately after their father's death, or was set up by Eukratides, during his contest with Antialkidas, to weaken the power of his adversary. The former conjecture appears to be the more probable one, and I would therefore assign to Theophilus an ephemeral reign of a few months in the year B.C. 175.

Epander. (Nikephoros.)

The coins of Epander are so rare that we have but little to guide us in fixing his position either in place or in time. His silver coin is unique, and of his copper coins only six specimens are known to me. One of his coins was brought from Kabul, but the find-spots of the others have not been ascertained. The figure of Athene Promachos on the silver coin of this prince is probably copied from the coins of Straton; the bull on his copper coins is identical with that on the copper coins of Heliokles, while the figure of Victory is similar to that on one of the copper coins of Eukratides, and is quite different from the Victories on the coins of Menander and of the later Greek princes. The same monogram, No. 106, appears on all his coins; but on one specimen it is accompanied by No. 17, which I read as *Karsana*. Taking this solitary guide as to place, the seat of his rule must have been in the Upper Kabul valley; and as the fabric of his copper coins connects him with Heliokles, while the types connect him with Eukratides, as well as

with Heliokles, I conjecture that he may have been one of the sons of Eukratides, and that for a few months in B.C. 165, after the murder of his father by Apollodotus, he contrived to maintain himself as the ruler of the city of Karsana.

In assigning dates and localities to these unrecorded Princes, I wish it to be distinctly understood that they are all more or less conjectural. I have sought diligently for indications of their history in the types and monograms as well as in the find-spots of their coins; but as these data are often imperfect or uncertain, it is perhaps impossible to arrive at any conclusions to which some objections may not be offered. I believe that as new coins are found, we shall gradually discover fresh facts, and thus eventually obtain a tolerably correct outline of the history and connections of most of these Princes. So long, however, as our data are liable to be modified by fresh discoveries, no certain classification can be made; but as I have fully stated the grounds of my present classification in each case, I trust that it will be accepted with every indulgence as a convenient temporary arrangement.



XIX.

NOTE ON A HOARD OF ANCIENT BRITISH COINS FOUND AT SANTON DOWNHAM, SUFFOLK.

A FEW months ago, some labourers engaged in digging gravel in the parish of Santon Downham, near Brandon, and a little to the south of the Little Ouse, which forms the boundary between the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, came upon a small hoard of coins, which passed into the possession of the Rev. W. Weller Poley, the incumbent of the parish, who has kindly placed them in my hands for examination.

They are, with but two exceptions, coins of the class usually attributed to the ancient British tribe of the Iceni; and, as is usually the case, composed of silver, to a considerable extent alloyed with copper, as is testified by the green coating with which the greater part of the surface of most of them is covered.

Within a few yards of the coins were found some fragments of pottery, which, though probably belonging to the same period, were not immediately connected with the hoard. These fragments are not sufficiently large to show with certainty the form of the vessels of which they were component parts. There seems, however, to be

portions of two circular vessels of different sizes, with flat bottoms and nearly upright sides, hand-made, and not turned on a potter's wheel. The larger may possibly have been as much as eight or ten inches in diameter, and the smaller probably five or six inches. The surface of the former appears to have been in part ornamented by rows formed of short straight indentations, arranged in pairs, placed at a slight angle to each other, like the pairs of leaves in a laurel wreath. The smaller vessel has had towards its top five parallel circles, deeply incised into the clay, at intervals of about a quarter of an inch, so as to form, as it were, a series of hoops round the vessel, the first and third of which, below the rounded rim, have been decorated by a dotted series of depressions dug into the clay with a pointed instrument. The clay itself is comparatively free from stony particles, and has been but imperfectly burnt.

The coins are 109 in number, and may be classed as follows, the references being to my "Coins of the Ancient Britons:"—

Coins Reading ECEN:—

As Pl. XV., No. 1	8	
With three pellets on shoulder of horse, as Pl. XV., No. 2	4	
		—12

Coins Reading ECE:—

With full-faced horse, as Pl. XV., No. 3 . .	11	
Many of these are imperfectly struck, one in fair state appears not to have the trefoil on the shoulder.		
With the bifurcated legs to horse, as Pl. XV., No. 4	3	
With six pellets on the shoulder, Pl. XV., No. 5 .	5	
		—19

Coins Reading AESV:—

As Pl. XV., No. 8 (two doubtful as to reading) .	4

Coins Reading ANTED, in Monogram :—		
As Pl. XV., No. 11	10	
As Pl. XV., No. 12	2	
As Pl. XV., No. 13	1	
Small unpublished coin	1	
		—14
Coins of the type Pl. XV., No. 1 to 13, but not showing their legends		29
Uninscribed Coins :—		
Pl. XVI., No. 7 and 8	26	
,, No. 9	2	
,, No. 10	1	
		—29
Roman Coins		2
		109

These latter are second-brass coins (*dupondii*) of the Emperor Claudius—one with the reverse of LIBERTAS AVGVSTA, the other with that of Pallas standing (Cohen, No. 79 and 87), and both probably struck in A.D. 41.

The general similarity in the character of this hoard to that of the larger deposit found at Weston, near Attlebridge, Norfolk, and described by Mr. C. Roach Smith in the Num. Chron., vol. xv., p. 98, is at once apparent. There are, however, wanting two or three of the Weston types, both inscribed and uninscribed, in the Santon Downham find; but, on the other hand, the latter presents us with at least one unpublished variety, which I will proceed to describe before entering into any farther considerations as to the date to be assigned to the deposit.

This coin, like the small specimen in the Hunter Collection, reading[1] ECEN, and like a few uninscribed coins,

[1] "British Coins," 385.

appears to have been intended to pass current for half the value of the larger pieces, its weight being only 7½ grs., the average weight of the others comprised in the hoard being 19.2 grs. The regularity in the weight of these coins is worthy of notice. Without weighing each coin separately, I have taken the aggregate weights of the coins of each variety, so as to obtain the average weights of the coins of each kind, and the greatest variation is only from 18¼ to 19½ grs, with the exception of the three uninscribed coins last described, which weigh but 17½ grs. each. It is possible that these may have been longer in circulation than the others, but there is little either in the weight or the degree of wear to justify me in attempting any chronological arrangement of the types. It appears probable that among the Iceni, as well as in the western part of Britain, there was a contemporary issue of inscribed and uninscribed coins.

The type of the small coin which has led to this digression, and of which a wood-cut is prefixed to this notice, may be thus described:—

Obv.—Lozenge-shaped ornament with incurved sides, formed of a sort of cable moulding; within it, in the centre, two hollow crescents, back to back; above and below them a small annulet; in front of each a pellet within the lozenge, and one on either side beyond it in front of the horns of the crescents.

Rev.—ANTEÐ in monogram, linked to the hind leg of a horse with long ears, curveting to the right; above, a V-shaped figure like a stag's head caboshed, with a pellet on either side of the head and between the horns; a pellet beneath the tail and below the body of the horse, which has a sort of bridle formed by an arc of pellets. Æ 7½ grs.

To those unacquainted with the ancient British series

of coins, the derivation of the type of the obverse from the laureate head of Apollo on the gold staters of Philip II. of Macedon would appear not a little problematical. But on the larger inscribed Icenian coins it will be observed that there are wreath-like ornaments extending from the fronts of the two crescents placed back to back in the centre, as far as to the edge of the coins, and their connection with the wreath on the earlier coins is beyond all doubt. The two crescents in the centre are also derived from some of the earlier modifications of the Philippus, and are, in fact, the features which became most permanent on the coins of the Iceni. To those accustomed to the singular alterations in character which the type, as originally imported, underwent at the hands of successive generations of British moneyers, the two crescents in the centre of the lozenge afford ample evidence of the type being merely one of the degenerate derivatives from the laureate head. It is, moreover, allied in character to that of some of the gold coins of the same district, such as Evans, Pl. XIV., 10 to 14. A somewhat similar lozenge-shaped device occurs on some of the small copper coins of Verulam; but in that case the central crescents are absent, and its relation to the Macedonian prototype extremely doubtful.

The type of the reverse is much the same as that of the larger coins, with the same legend; but the horse is more spirited, and in better drawing, though by no means a fine work of art. The object above its back has much the appearance of having been intended to represent the head of a stag, which in that case is now for the first time found upon a British coin. It will be remembered that heads of oxen are frequently represented in the same position as this relatively to the horse, on the gold coins

of Tasciovanus, Andocomius, and other princes. The monogram ANTED, though not visible in its entirety, appears to be of precisely the same character as on the larger coins.

I have already elsewhere suggested the probability of this being an abbreviated form of ANTEDRIGVS, and that the prince who bore this name, and who ruled in the eastern part of Britain, may have been the same who, subsequently to the defeat of the Iceni by Ostorius in A.D. 50, became a chieftain in the western district, and of whom numerous coins, both in gold and silver, occurred in the hoard discovered some years ago at Nunney, near Frome, and described by me in the Numismatic Chronicle.[2]

Since writing this paragraph, I have met with a gold coin of Antedrigus, slightly differing in character from any before known, which seems to afford some additional evidence of the original connection of this prince with the Iceni. The obverse presents the ordinary type of his gold coins, the branch-like ornament, but rather larger and broader than usual. The reverse has also much the same general appearance as usual, but the horse approximates in character more closely to that on the coins inscribed BODVOC than to that on the ordinary coins of Antedrigus; the wheel below is larger; in front of the horse is a ring ornament, and behind him another, but formed with a beaded circle. There are no traces whatever of the letters RIGV which usually occur below and around the horse, and the letters NTE of the ANTED inscribed above it are linked into a monogram in a similar manner to that employed on the Icenian silver coins, the monogram on which, however, also includes the A. When we

[2] New Series, vol. i. p. 1.

remember that on no other coin of the western district are there any letters linked together, nor any attempt at a monogram, the fact of the letters on a gold coin of Antedrigus being thus linked together, becomes highly significant.

It is worthy of remark that with the Nunney hoard also there occurred several Roman coins, and among them a second-brass coin of Claudius; and, as in that instance, as well as in the case of the Santon Downham hoard, these coins have evidently been a considerable time in circulation, the date of both deposits must be fixed some years later than A.D. 41, the year in which the coins of Claudius were probably struck.

I have elsewhere suggested the period of the wars with the Romans A.D. 50 to 55, when Ostorius Scapula was Proprætor in Britain, as being probably that of the deposit of the Nunney hoard, and it seems as if that of Santon Downham might with propriety be assigned to much the same date.

There can be but little doubt that all the silver coins comprised in it, though varying in type, were struck for circulation among the powerful tribe of the Iceni, who at some time between A.D. 43 and 50 had entered into alliance with the Romans. In the latter year, however, they came into collision with the invaders, and were defeated by Ostorius, after which time, though they retained the kingly form of government, it would seem to have been only on sufferance by the Romans, and I was formerly inclined to think that with their defeat the native coinage ceased. The occurrence of these worn coins of Claudius in association with Icenian coins is by no means inconsistent with such a cessation of the native mints in A.D. 50, as the amount of wear they exhibit is

not more than might be the result of constant circulation for eight or ten years.

Still, it is impossible to say with certainty that the Icenian coinage ceased before the final subjugation of the tribe by the Romans in A.D. 61, though for the last ten years of their existence their chief, or *regulus*, was probably a mere creature of the Romans.

For how long a period Prasutagus, the husband of Boadicea, was King of the Iceni, we have no means of knowing, but at present no coins have been found which can with any show of reason be assigned to him, and this circumstance alone affords some grounds of presumption that the native coinage had ceased at the time of his accession.

Were there any room for supposing that his name is incorrectly given by Tacitus, and that the initial P and R are in excess, the coins reading AESV might well be assigned to Asutagus, and certainly, from the condition of two of the specimens, they would seem to have been among the latest struck of the whole. A coin of the same type occurred in the Weston find, where the Roman coins were of silver, and none of them imperial. They were, however, so much worn that possibly the date of the deposit may have been much the same as in this case.

A notice of two other hoards of the same character found at March in Cambridgeshire, and at Battle in Sussex, will be found in the Numismatic Chronicle,[3] and other details respecting the Icenian coinage will be found in the book already cited. JOHN EVANS.

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[3] Vol. i. p. 89.

XX.

THE STAMFORD MINT.

This mint was established in the thirteenth year of Eadgar, A.D. 972, not in Stamford proper (one of the most important as well as most ancient cities of the Heptarchical kingdom of Mercia, and which, situated north of the river Welland, was contained wholly in Lincolnshire), but in that addendum, said to have been made for strategical purposes by Eadweard the Elder on the southern side of the Welland, in Northamptonshire, and subsequently styled Stamford Baron, the St. Martin's of the modern town.

In Anglo-Saxon times, Stamford was a kind of metropolis of East Mercia, a place of great trade, and the seat of an ancient university, styled by the enthusiastic Peck, "*Academia Tertia Anglicana.*" Numerous monastic establishments of every variety of order also clustered there; and it was held to be of such importance, that its possession formed frequently the prize of contention between Saxons and Danes; while it was one of the few cities in which the latter at an early period obtained a foothold in this country.

It may be a matter of inquiry how it was that the mint was established in a suburb of such a town, and not in the

town itself. In the following short account, in which is embodied the information given in Ruding, a probable answer is suggested.

The present cathedral of Peterborough (commenced A.D. 1117, and completed about A.D. 1325) was the great church of the abbey of St. Peter of Burgh, more anciently the monastery of *Medeshamstede*, a name, according to Britton, derived from "*mede* or *mead*, a meadow; *ham*, a sheltered habitation; and *stead*, or *sted*, or *stad*, a bank, station, or place of rest."

This monastery is said to have been founded by Peada, King of Mercia, A.D. 655, and was one of the wealthy and powerful ecclesiastical establishments, characteristic of the Middle Ages, which were the nurseries and conservatories of all the religion, learning, and art of those early times.

By successive endowments, and other modes of acquisition, it acquired immense possessions, comprising, besides the "vill," or town, skirting the monastery itself, not less than fifty-two manors; the Northamptonshire suburb of the ancient town of Stamford, to which I have referred; and the lands of Burghley, afterwards and now the demesne of the family of Cecil, the present head of which is the Marquis of Exeter. Indeed, the buildings of an outlying and comparatively unimportant branch establishment of the great monastery, stood upon part of the site of the present Burghley House, the palatial residence erected in the reign of Elizabeth by the great Treasurer Cecil, Lord Burghley.

Having such wealth of territory, it is only natural that the monastery should have acquired great wealth of material; and possessing this, it offered a tempting and easy prey to the predatory Danes, by whom, accordingly, it had been frequently pillaged, even previously to

the time of Alfred. Ultimately, A.D. 870, the Danes burned it down, and seized its wealth and its lands; and it remained in a ruined and impoverished condition for nearly 100 years—all through the reigns of Alfred and succeeding kings into the reign of Eadgar, A.D. 958—975.

Under the auspices of Eadgar (who seems to have had a mission for restoring religious houses, having, it is said, rebuilt forty), the monastery was re-erected, the establishment reconstructed and elevated into an abbey, its lands restored, and its former charters ratified.

This king changed its name to "Burgh," and, among other favours, conferred upon its abbot (who already was "Lord of Stamford-beyond-the-Bridge") the perpetual privilege of having "*one moneyer at Stamford.*" In the *Saxon Chronicle* it is said that this took place A.D. 963, but the charter of Eadgar is dated A.D. 972. The grant was afterwards confirmed by Eadweard the Martyr, Æthelred II., Cnut, and Eadward the Confessor.

Cnut gave the country of the East Angles, to which, as Peck says in his "Annals of Stamford," "Stamford was then added, having been previously part of Mercia," to "Turkil Hoche," or Earl Thurkil, who confirmed to the Abbot of Burgh the grant of a mint at Stamford, and the land there "*ex ista parte aqua,*" that is, on the Northamptonshire side of the Welland; and Peck considers this as a confirmation of the belief that the mint was on that side. Stamford Baron (except as to modern borough arrangements) is still in the same ancient jurisdiction, being included in the "liberty," or "soke," so called, of Peterborough.

And here I would say a few words as to the probable cause (beyond the pregnant one of great pecuniary advantage), and as to the policy, of establishing this mint under

the authority of the Abbot of St. Peter of Burgh, and in an outlying part of the town of Stamford.

Stamford had been more or less in the occupation of the Danes from A.D. 870 to A.D. 943, and its inhabitants, from association and intermarriages, had become to a considerable extent Danish in their sympathies. Indeed, at an aftertime, in the great Danish invasion of A.D. 1013, it was spared all the horrors visited upon other towns, because, as we are told, its inhabitants were chiefly of Danish origin.

Eadgar, therefore, could have no assurance that the town would not again revert to Danish rule; and so, by putting the mint under the rule of the Abbot of Burgh, who would be unaffected (except pecuniarily) by such changes, he would secure, as he might consider, its retention under Anglo-Saxon authority, at the same time that, by placing it in a suburb of the town, he would offer to the commerce of the place all the advantages to be derived from a local mint, while the mint itself would be benefited by being so placed.

This suburb was without the walls of the ancient town, and separated from it by the river Welland; but it is probable that it had the protection of circumvallation, or at any rate of the neighbouring powerful castle, built A.D. 922 by Eadweard the Elder, south of the Welland and opposite the castle of Stamford, to keep in check that castle and the town, these being at that time in the possession of the Danes.

It is thus seen that the Stamford mint was a Northamptonshire mint; and it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the immense number of mints which were in operation, both in important and unimportant towns, all over the country, that at Stamford was the only mint established in Northamptonshire in Anglo-Saxon times.

The charter of Eadgar was granted only three years before his death, so that time did not admit of a large coinage during his reign; but the mint flourished throughout the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period, and from it coins in profusion were issued.

The restriction as to "one moneyer" seems to have been a dead letter from the first, as is evident from the great number of names of moneyers which the coins that have come down to us themselves present.

At the time of and after "the Conquest," the abbey was involved in trouble and difficulty. Leofric, the fourth abbot, *fought* in Harold's army against the Normans, and dying in his abbey in the year of "the Conquest," A.D. 1066, the Saxon Brando was elected his successor. He died three years afterwards, A.D. 1069, and upon this, the Conqueror, usurping the power, appointed the Norman Thorold to be abbot. This act was resented by the monks, the Saxon people, and especially by the neighbouring powerful Saxon thane, Hereward, Lord of Bourne,* nephew of the deceased Abbot Brando. He twice attacked and pillaged the abbey, and on the latter occasion took prisoner the Abbot Thorold himself, whom he released only upon payment, as ransom, of 3,000 marks.

In order to protect himself and his abbey from such aggressions, Thorold engaged the services of a number of stipendiary knights, and for payment allotted among fifty-nine knights no less than thirty-three manors, two of the richest having already been seized by the king himself; and thus the revenues of seventeen manors only remained to the abbey.

At the death of Thorold, A.D. 1098, the monks purchased

* From whom was lineally descended the late Sir Charles Wake, Bart., of Courteenhall, Northamptonshire, brother-in-law of the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

back of the king (William Rufus) the right to elect their own abbot; but the abbey never regained its alienated possessions, nor the position or influence it had possessed in Anglo-Saxon times.

As the fortunes of the abbey waned, the activity of its mint dwindled, the names of moneyers and the coins handed down to us alike becoming fewer and fewer in number, and in the reign of Henry II. it was finally closed. This decline, however, may possibly be attributable in part to the causes which led to the gradual but general reduction in the number of mints after the reign of the Conqueror.

Towards the conclusion of the reign of William I., or in the early part of the reign of William II., a few coins were struck, probably at the Stamford mint, bearing the name "BVRD," for Burgh—Peterborough—and the name of one moneyer only, "SEPORD." These coins are of the undetermined types of William I. or II., Hawkins, 238, 241, and 243. No cause can be assigned for the production of these coins. Possibly it was connected in some way with the changes to which the abbey was subjected in the disastrous times when Saxon and Norman contended for its government.

For some years I have been collecting materials for making a list of coins of the Stamford mint; and I have succeeded in gathering, from this country and the Continent, minute individual descriptions of 599 coins. Of these, 542 are Anglo-Saxon, and 57 of dates subsequent to the Norman Conquest: 24 of the former, and 6 of the latter, however, on account of insufficient lettering, are only conjecturally assigned to the Stamford mint. These numbers, however, do not include 51 coins of Stamford and 8 of "BVRD," part of the great Beaworth find. See note in the list of coins, under William I. or II.

In this work I have had to engage in a voluminous correspondence; and I beg cordially to thank the numerous foreign and English gentlemen who have responded with so much courtesy, and frequently with so much trouble to themselves, to my letters of inquiry—especially the distinguished M. Adrien de Longpérier, of the Musée du Louvre, Paris; His Excellency M. le Baron de Kœhne, Actuel Conseiller d'Etat et Conseiller du Musée de l'Ermitage Impériale, St. Petersburgh; Dr. Julius Friedlander, Director of the Royal Coin Cabinet of Berlin; and Dr. L. Müller and M. Herbst, of the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen.

The last has been so good as to send me the particulars of 114 coins, sought out, as I am assured by Dr. Müller, from a number exceeding 1,200 contained in the Royal and other cabinets in Denmark and Sweden.

I have also especially to thank Mr. Vaux, F.R.S., and other gentlemen of the Numismatic Section of the Department of Antiquities of the British Museum, for the kind and ready attention and help which on many occasions I have received from them.

In addition to the aid received directly from foreign numismatists, I have had recourse to the elaborate work of M. Bror Emil Hildebrand, Director of the Royal Museum of Antiquities and Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm, and in which are described more than 3,200 Anglo-Saxon coins, all found in Sweden; also to the account by Professor Holmboe, Director of the Cabinet of Medals of Christiana, of 1,500 coins found in Norway in 1836, 725 of which are Anglo-Saxon. If we add to these the 1,200 mentioned by Dr. Müller, we shall have from these three sources alone the extraordinary number of 5,125 Anglo-Saxon coins, all found in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Of these, about 5,075 are of the four reigns of Æthelred II., Cnut, Harold I., and Eadward the Confessor—a fact which speaks emphatically of the extortion and drain of money to which the Anglo-Saxons were exposed, not even checked apparently when Cnut, a prince of Danish lineage, was king over all England.

Another curious fact is the large proportion which the Stamford coins bear to the whole number thus found. Of the 1,200 coins mentioned by Dr. Müller, 116 are of the Stamford mint; of those described by Professor Holmboe, 36 are of the same mint. M. Hildebrand's list describes 3,160 coins of the four reigns I have referred to; and if we exclude the London coins (just 1,000), we have 2,160 coins from 70 named provincial mints: of these 150 coins are of the Stamford mint, or about one-fourteenth of the whole.

This circumstance would indicate either a very large issue and circulation of the coins of the Stamford mint, or a more than proportionate contribution from the town of Stamford to the "*Danegeld*," or Dane tax, an enhancement, perhaps, attributable to its Danish connections.

Among the names of moneyers of the Stamford mint, we have "*Godelef*" in the reigns of Æthelred II., Cnut, and William I. or II., "*Living*" in the reign of Æthelred II., and "*Wulfword*," or "*Pulfword*," in the reigns of William I. or II. Goodliff, Living, and Pulford are names of old Stamford families, of the artisan class, remaining to this day. This is probably a simple coincidence; but it is not utterly impossible that the names may have come down even from the ancient times.

After the description of each coin in the following list, I have named either the collection in which it is deposited or my authority for its description.

LIST OF COINS OF THE STAMFORD MINT.

EADGAR.—A.D. 958—975.

Type:—B.M. II.; Ruding, pl. xx., Nos. 6, 7, 8; Hawkins, No. 200; Hildebrand, C. 2.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
1.	+ EADGAR REX ANGLOX	+ ÆNELHMAN M⁻O STAN Fitzw.Mus.[1]
2, 3.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ÆNELMAN M⁻O STANF· B.M.;[2] Cuff's sale.
4.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ——— —— STANF Webster.[3]
5.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ENELMAN MO STANF Webster.
6.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ENAP[ƿ ?]A* M⁻O STANFO· B.M.
7.	+ ——— —— ———	+ MAN M⁻O STANFORD· Sharp.[4] (19½ grs.).
8.	+ ——— —— ———	+ OLEAN ON STANFORD Webster.
9.	+ ——— —— ———	+ OEEA M⁻O STANFORD· B.M.
10.	+ ——— —— ———	+ RIEVLF M⁻O STANFO· Shp.(23 grs.)
11.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ——— —— STANF Webster.
12.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ƿVLFLAR M⁻O STAN ,,
13.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ——— —— STANF ,,
14.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ƿVLLAR M⁻O STANF· B.M.
15.	+ EADLAR REX ANGLOX	+ ——— —— ——— Phillips.[5]
16.	+ EADLAR REX ANGLLOX	+ ——— —— STANF Hilde.[6]

EADWEARD II.—"The Martyr." A.D. 975—978.

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxi., Nos. 1 to 6; Hawkins, 202; Hildebrand, A.

1.	+ EADƿEARD REX ANGLO	+ ÆLFƿALD M⁻O STAN Bergne.[7]
2.	+ EADƖARD REX ANGLO	+ ÆNELMAN M⁻O STANF Dr. Harrison's sale.
3.	+ EADƿARD REX ANGLOX	+ ÆNELMAN M⁻O STANF B.M.
4.	+ ——— —— —— ANGL⁻	+ ENELMAN M⁻O STANF· B.M. (figured in Ruding).
5.	+ ——— —— ANGLOX	+ ENELMAN MO STANF Webster.
6.	+ ——— —— A⌒OX	+ BOIA M⁻O STANEF⁻ Sharp (19½ grs.).
7.	+ ——— —— ANG	+ BOIA M⁻O STAF⁻ B.M.
8.	+ ——— —— ANGLOX	+ —— —— STANF Webster.
9.	+ ——— —— ———	+ —— —— STANFOR ,,

(1) Particulars kindly supplied by the Rev. Professor Churchill Babington, Cambridge.
(2) British Museum.
(3) Mr. W. Webster, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, who has kindly taken the trouble to give me minute particulars of all the coins of this mint which, in his great experience, have passed through his hands.
(4) The compiler of this list. (5) Joseph Phillips, Esq., Stamford.
(6) "Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes du Cabinet Royal de Stockholm, toutes trouvées en Suède 1846." (7) See (9) next page.

* Type:—Ruding, pl. xxi., No. 9; Hildebrand, A. ENAƿE MŪ B.M.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
10.	+ EΛDƴΛRD REX ΛNGLO⋋	+ OIΛ M⁻O NTΛNFORD· [Qy. BOIΛ?] B.M.
11.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ ENΛƴΛ M⁻O NTΛNFOR Cuff's sale.
12.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ ENΛƴE MO STΛNF Webster.
13.	+ ——————— —— ΛNG	+ ENΛP[ƴ ?]E M NTΛNF⁻ B.M.
14, 15.	+ ——————— —— ΛNGL	+ ——————— I⁻I⁻O NTΛNF⁻ Sharp (two coins from the same dies—one bought at the Lindsay[8] sale—each weighing 21 grs.).
16.	+ EΛDƴEΛRD REX ΛNGLO⋋	+ ENΛP[ƴ ?]E M⁻O NTΛNF Bergne.[9]
17.	+ EΛDƴΛRD —— ———	+ EYLNTΛN MO ——— Newspaper paragraph of unknown sale.
18.	+ EΛDƴEΛRD REX ΛNGLO	+ FΛLER M⁻O NTΛNFO B.M.
19.	+ EΛDƴΛRD —— ———	+ LR·IH M⁻O NTΛNFOR Sharp (19½ gr.)
20.	+ ——————— —— ΛNGLO⋋	+ LRIM Π⁻O ——— Webster.
21.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ LRIM M⁻OΛO NTΛNFOR B.M.
22.	+ ——————— —— ΛNGL⁻	+ HILD M⁻O NTΛNFOR Shp. (20½ gr.)
23.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ —— —— NTΛNORD Sale in 1862 —from the Dymoke Cabinet.
24-28.	+ ——————— —— ΛNGLO⋋	+ HILD M⁻O NTΛNFORD B.M. (figured in Ruding); Evans;[10] Sharp (two coins from the same dies, each weighing 21½ grs.). Another in the sale of Thomas Brown, Esq., July, 1869.
29.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ HILD M⁻O STΛNFORD Webster.
30.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ —— MO STΛMFORD ,,
31.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ —— MONETΛ ON STΛNFORD Webster.
32.	+ ——————— —— ΛNGLO	+ OEEΛ Π⁻O NTΛNFORD·· B.M.
33.	+ EΛDVΛRD REX ΛNGLO	+ OLEΛ M⁻O NTΛNFORD Plumley's sale, 1869.
34.	+ EΛDƴΛRD REX ΛNGLO⋋	+ OLEΛ MO ——— Cuff's sale.
35.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ OLEΛR M⁻O ——— Webster.
36.	+ EΛDƴEΛRD REX ΛNGLO	+ ƴINE M⁻O NTΛNFORD·· B.M.
37.	+ EΛDƴΛRD REX ΛNGLO⋋	+ ƴVLFLΛR M⁻O NTΛM Ruding.
38.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ ƴVLLΛR MO STΛNF Webster.
39.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ ——————— M⁻O NTΛIIF⁻ B.M.
40.	+ EΛDƴEΛRD REX ΛNGL⊙	+ ——————— —— NTΛNF· Sainthill.[11]

(8) John Lindsay, Esq., Cork, author of the "Coinage of the Heptarchy," and many other important numismatic works, and who had previously taken the trouble to send me a description of his Stamford coins.

(9) John B. Bergne, Esq., F.S.A., Foreign Office.

(10) John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., author of "Ancient British Coins," &c., &c.

(11) Richard Sainthill, Esq., Cork, author of "An Olla Podrida," &c.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
41.	+ EADᚹARD REX ANGLO᛭	+ ᚹVLSTAN M⁻O STANF⁻ B.M.
42.	+ ———— —— ————	+ VVLSTAN MO STANF Murchison's sale, 1866.[12]

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxi, No. 7 (annulet under cross on reverse).

43.	+ EADᚹEARD REX ANGLO᛭	+ ÆLFᚹALD ⊢⁻O STANFOR· B.M.
44.	+ ———— —— ANGLO᛭	+ ᚹVLFGAR M⁻O STAM· B.M. (figured in Ruding).

Type:—Same as last, but without the annulet.

45.	+ EADᚹEARD REX ANGLO᛭	+ HILD M⁻O STANFO· Shp. (22½ gr.)
46.	+ ———— —— ANGLO	+ MANNA M⁻O STANFO·· Sharp* (18 grs.).

ÆTHELRED II.—A.D. 978—1016.

Type:—B.M., III.; Ruding, pl. xxii, Nos. 5 to 7; Hawkins, 205; Hildebrand, A.

1.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO	+ ÆNGMAN MºO STANF Hildebrand.
2.	+ ———— —— ANGL·	+ ÆNGᚹIL MO STANFO: R. C., Copenhagen.[13]
3.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGL	+ ÆNGᚹIL MO STANFO Hildebrand.
4.	+ ———— —— ——	+ ÆNᚹIL MO STANFO· R. C., Copenhagen.
5.	+ ———— —— ANG	+ ÆÐELᚹINE M⁻O ST Hildebrand.
6.	+ ———— —— ANGLOR	+ ———— ON STANF ,,
7.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANG	+ ———— MºO STA ,,
8.	+ ———— —— ANGLO	+ ———— MO STAN· B.M.
9.	+ ———— —— ANGLO	+ ———— ON STANF. [⁻ above the ✠] B.M.
10.	+ ———— —— ANGL	+ ALFᚹALD M⁻O STAN·F [a small ✠ with ○ in the field]. R.C., Copenhagen.
11.	+ ———— —— AN·G·	+ EADᚹINE M⁻O STAN Phillips.
12.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANG	+ ———— —— —— Hildebrand.
13.	+ ———— —— ANGLO	+ EDᚹINE ON STANFoRD ,,
14.	+ ———— —— ANG	+ GODÆG M⁻O STAN ,,
15.	+ ———— —— ANG·	+ GODDERE MO STA R.C., Copenhagen
16.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANG·	+ GODEL M⁻O STAN [⁻over the ✠] B.M.
17.	+ ———— —— ANGL·	+ GODELDOE† ON STANF B.M.
18.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGL:	+ GODELDOE† — ——— R. C., Copenhagen. [† Qy. GODELEOF?]

(12) Captain Murchison, Bath

(13) The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen; particulars of the numerous Stamford coins in which have been kindly furnished by MM. Müller and Herbst.

* From Sir Henry Ellis's sale, May, 1869.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
19. + ÆÐELRED REX ANG·	+ GODELEOE* M⁻O NTA [*F in B.M. list] B.M.
20. + ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLO	+ GODELEOE ON STANF Hilde.
21. + ——————— ANGL	+ GODELEOF ON STAN ,,
22. + ——————— ———	+ ——————— — STANF Webster.
23. + ——————— ———	+ ——————— MºO NTAN [as Hildebrand Ac— a small central ✠ surrounded by four smaller crosses] Hilde.
24. + ÆÐELRÆDRÆD REX ANG	+ GODELEOF ON STANF ,,
25. + ÆÐELREDRÆD REX ANG	+ ——————— ON STANFI R.C., Berlin[14]
26. + ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLO	+ GODIEG ON NTANFOR Hildebrand
27. + EÐELRED REX ANG	+ GODRIE M⁻O NTAN ,,
28. + ÆÐELRED REX ANL	+ ——————— —— NTANF ,,
29. + ——————— ——— ANG	+ GODPINE M⁻O NTA ,,
30. + Æ+ELRED REX ANGL	+ ——————— ——— ——— ,,
31. + ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO	+ ——————— —— NTAN ,,
32. + ——————— RXE ANGLO—	+ GRIM M⁻O TO NTANOR Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 5.[15]
33. + ÆÐELRED REX ANGL	+ HILD M⁻O NTANFº [o under cross on reverse, but partially obliterated] † Sharp (15½ grs.).
34. + ——————— —— AN	+ LEOFPINE M⁻O NTAI Hildebrand.
35. + ——————— —— ANG·	+ ——————— —— NTAN R. C., Berlin.
36. + ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLO	+ ——————— MºO NTAN [the type of the reverse is ✚]. R.C., Copenhagen.
37. + ——————— —— ANGL	+ LEOFPINE MºO NTAN Hildebrand.
38. + ÆÐELRED REX ANG·	+ OEE* M⁻O NTANFO [*OLE in the B.M. list] B.M.
39. + ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLX	+ ONMVND M⁻O NTAN R. C., Copenhagen.
40. + ÆÐÆLRÆD REX ANL	+ NPERT M÷O NTANF Hildebrand.
41. + ÆÐELRED —— ——	+ ——— M⁻O NTANF R.C., Copenhagen
42. + ——————— —— AN	+ ——— —— NTANF Hildebrand.
43. + ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOR	+ SPERTGAR · ON′ STAN Phillips.
44, 45. + ——————— —— ANGLO	+ NPERTGAR MºO NTAI Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.

(14) The Royal Collection at Berlin—a list and impressions in foil of the Stamford coins in which have been kindly forwarded by Dr. Julius Friedlaender, Director.

(15) The present *locus* of the coins thus authenticated is unknown to the writer.

† Type almost a *fac-simile* of that of No. 45 of Edward the Martyr. Hild was one of Edward the Martyr's moneyers, and the name does not occur in Ruding's list of the moneyers of Ethelred; so that this coin probably represents the very earliest coinage of Ethelred, and possibly was struck from altered dies of the previous reign—a supposition supported by the evident imperfect obliteration of the annulet on the reverse, which (although it was the symbol of the York Mint) had been adopted, evidently in error, on some of the Stamford dies of that reign.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
46.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO	+ NPERTGAR MO NTAN Hildebrand.
47.	+ ——————— ——— ———	+ ——————— ON NTANFO Webster.
48.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANG	+ ——————— MO NT Hildebrand.
49.	+ ——————— —— ANGL	+ ——————— — NTAN R.C., Copenhagen.
50.	+ ——————— —— ANGLO	+ NPERTGAR ON NTANF Holmboe.[16]
51.	+ ——————— —— ANGLOR	+ ——————— — STAN Hildebrand.
52.	+ ——————— —— ANGLOR	+ ——————— — STANFO Sharp (23½ grs.).
53.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO	+ PVLFGAR M⁻O NTAM Hildebrand.
54.	+ ——————— ——— ———	+ PVLNTAN M⁻O NTANFO ,,
55.	+ ÆÐE✱✱✱✱ ✱✱✱ ✱✱GO	+ VIF✱✱✱ ✱✱ ✱✱ANF Holmboe.

Type:—B.M., IV.; Ruding, pl. xxii, Nos. 11, 12; Hawkins, 206; Hildebrand, B. 1.

56.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO'	+ ALFPALD M⁻O NTANP [assigned to Stanwick, Northamptonshire. Qy. P blundered for F ?] B.M.
57.	+ ——————— ——— ———	+ ALFP⊙LD M⁻⊙ NTANF· Shp. (20 gr.)
58.	+ ——————— ——— ———	+ ALFPOLD M⁻O NTAN.·. Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 11.
59.	+ ——————— —— ANGLOX	+ ÆÐENTAN M⁻ON ZTAN Hilde.
60	+ ——————— —— ANGL	+ BOIA M⁻O NTANFO ,,
61.	+ ——————— —— ANGL	+ —— —— NTANFOR Sharp (from Lindsay's sale—18 grs.).
62.	+ ——————— —— ANGLOX	+ BOIA M⁻O NTANFOR· R. C., Berlin
63.	+ ——————— —— ANGLO·X	+ —— —— ZTANFORD Hildebrand.
64.	+ ——————— —— ANGLO	+ GODPINE M⁻O NTAN Webster.
65.	+ ——————— ——— ———	+ GRIM M⁻O NTANFOR ,,
66.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX	+ LEOFDAG M⁻O NTEANF Hilde.
67.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO	+ LIVING M⁻O NTAN Webster.
68.	+ ÆÐEERED REX ANGLOY	+ ——— M⁻O —— Sharp (from Lindsay's sale—27 grs.).
69.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLO	+ PVLFNTAN M⁻O NTEAN Hilde.
70.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGL	+ PVLNTAN MO NTAN B.M.
71.	+ ——————— —— ANGLO	+ ——————— M⁻O ——— B.M.
72.	+ ——————— —— ANGLOX	+ ——————— — ——— R. C., Copenhagen.
73.	+ ——————— —— ANGLOY	+ PVLGAR M⁻O NTANF ,,
74.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX AN	+ ——————— —— NTA Hildebrand.
75.	+ ——————— —— ANGL	+ ——————— —— ——— ,,
76.	+ ——————— —— ANGLOR	+ ——————— —— NTEANF ,,

(16) "Munter fra Milderhalderen, funde ved Egerfund, Christiana, 1836;" being a description of 1,500 coins (725 of which are Anglo-Saxon) found in Norway in February of that year.

Type:—B.M., IV.; Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 13; Hawkins, 206; Hildebrand, B. 2.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*	
77.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ᚪNGLOX	+ ÆÐELᚹYRD MᐨO NT	Hildebrand.
78.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ BOᚩᚪ MᐨO NTᚪNFO	R. C., Copenhagen.
79.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ᚪNGLX	+ ᚩODᚹINE MᐨO NTᚪ	Hildebrand.
80.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ———— —— NTᚪN	,,
81.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ————	+ ᚹVLFGᚪR —— ——	,,

Type:—B.M., II.; Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 4; Hawkins, 204; Hildebrand, C. ["ERVX"].

82.	+ ÆÐELRÆD RE+ ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ᚪEXᚹX MᐨO NTᚪN	[· before E in "ERVX"]. Sharp (14 grs.).
83, 84.	+ ———— REX ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ÆLFGᚪR MᐨO NTᚪN	Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
85.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGL	+ ÆLFGᚪR M'O TᚪM	[Qy. blundered, or Tamworth ?] Holmboe.
86.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ᚪLFᚹOLD MᐨO NTᚪN	Hildebrand.
87.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ———— —— NTF	,,
88.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ———— —— NTᚪN	R.C., Copenhagen.
89.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ᚩODELEOF —— ———	Hildebrand.
90, 91.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ᚩODᚹINE —— ———	,, Lünd.[17]
92.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ———— —— ———	[a variety]. Hildebrand.
93.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ᚩODᚹNE —— ———	Hildebrand.
94.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ᚩODᚹINE —— NTᚪN	R. C., Copenhagen.
95.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ NᚹᚪRTGᚪR —— NTᚪN	Cuff's sale.
96.	+ ———— —— ————	+ Nᚹ******* MᐨO NTᚪN	[a fragment]. Hildebrand.
97.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ᚹVLFNTᚪN MᐨO ———	Hilde.
98.	+ ———— —— ᚪNGLOᛟ	+ ———— MᐨO ———	R. C., Copenhagen.

Type:—B.M., V.; Ruding, pl. xxii., Nos. 2, 3; Hawkins, 207; Hildebrand, D.

99.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ᚪNGLO	+ ÆLFGET MᑫO NTᚪN·	Cuff's sale.
100.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ᚪNEᚹIE M·O NTᚪ	B.M.
101.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ᚪNEᚹIE MᑫO ——	Hildebrand.
102.	+ ———— —— ————	+ ᚪZEᚹIE —— ——	Webster.

(17) The Collection of Coins of the University of Lünd, Sweden—from Hildebrand's Catalogue, 1829.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
103.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO	+ ANDVLE MºO NTA R.C.Copenhagen
104.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLO	+ ERINTAN M'O NTAN Upsala.[18]
105.	+ ———— —— ANG	+ ERINTIN MºO NTAN R. C., Copenhagen.
106.	+ ———— —— ANGL	+ ERINTIN MºO —— Hildebrand.
107.	+ ———— —— ——	+ ERINTINE MoO STAN Webster.
108.	+ ———— —— ANGL	+ EADVI M'O NTAN Museum at Bury St. Edmund's (found at Whepstead, Suffolk).
109.	+ ———— —— ——	+ EADVI M'O NTA Hildebrand.
110.	+ ———— —— ANGL	+ ELEBRIHT M¯O NTA B.M.
111.	+ ———— —— ——	+ ELFVNE MO —— Webster.
112.	+ ———— —— ANGL°	+ LODÆL M'O· NTA R.C.,Copenhagen
113.	+ ÆÐELRED —— ——	+ ———— M'O NTAN Phillips.
114.	+ ÆÐELRÆD —— ANGLO	+ ———— M'O NTA Hildebrand.
115.	+ ———— —— ——	+ ———— —— NTAN ,,
116.	+ ———— —— ——	+ ———— MºO —— ,,
117.	+ ———— RL+ AI	+ ———— MO —— ,,
118.	+ ———— REX ANGLO	+ LODELEOF M'O NTA ,,
119.	+ ———— —— ANGLO	+ ———— M'O NTAN Phillips.
120, 121.	+ ———— —— ANGL	+ ———— M'O ——Sharp (19gr.); Hildebrand.
122.	+ ÆÐELRED —— ANGLOX	+ LODELEOF —— —— Hildebrand.
123.	+ ———— —— ANGLO	+ LODELOF M¯O —— B.M.
124.	+ ———— —— ——	+ LODLEOF M'O ——Hildebrand.
125.	+ ———— —— ——	+ LEFVNE MO NTAN Cuff's sale.
126.	+ ÆDELRD —— AN	+ LIFNE M'O NTN Hildebrand.
127.	+ EÐELRED RE+ AI	+ NLOI MºO NTAN ,,
128.	+ ÆÐELRED REX AIL	+ NVERTLAR MO NTA ,,
129.	+ ÆÐELRÆD —— ALL	+ ———— —— —— R. C., Copenhagen.
130.	+ ———— —— ANGL	+ NVERTLAR M'O NTAN ,,
131.	+ ———— —— ANLL	+ ———— —— —— Hildebrand.
132.	+ ———— —— ANLLO	+ ———— —— —— ,,
133.	+ ———— —— ANGLO	+ ———— M'O ——R. C.,Copenhagen.
134.	× EÐELRED EX[?] ANGLO	+ NVERTLAR —— —— Sharp (this coin has been pierced—19½ grs.).
135.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO	+ VVVLFSTAN MO STA Rashleigh[19] (21½ grs.).

(18) The Collection of Coins of the University of Upsala, Sweden—from the Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins by Schröder, 1825; also, "Shröder, Numorum A.S. Centuria Selecta, Upsaliæ, 1847."

(19) J. Rashleigh, Esq., Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, London.

Type :—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 1; Hawkins, 203; Hildebrand, E.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
136.	+ ·ÆÐELRED REX ⱭNGLO	+ ÆNEVIE MºO NTⱭN R. C., Copenhagen
137.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ⱭNGL	+ ÆNEVIE MºO ——— Hildebrand.
138.	+ ——————— —— ⱭNGLLO	+ ——— —— ——— ,,
139.	⁜ ——————— —— ⱭN·	+ ⱭNEVIE: M'⊙ NTⱭN R. C., Copenhagen.
140.	+ ——————— —— ⱭNGL	+ ENERIE M.O NTⱭN Upsala.
141.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ GODÆG MºO —— Hildebrand.
142.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ ——— —— —— [a variety] Hilde.
143.	+ ——————— —— ———	+ GODEG —— —— ,,
144.	+ EÐERLEDI EX ⱭNGO	+ ——— MO —— ,,
145.	+ ÆÐELRED REX ⱭN	+ GODRIE MºO ——*Sharp[20] (16½ grs.)
146.	+ ——————— —— ⱭNGLO	+ NVⱭRTGⱭR II·O NⱭN· R.C., Berlin.
147.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ⱭNGLLO	+ ——————— M·O NⱭN Hildebrand.
148.	+ ✱✱✱✱✱✱✱ ✱✱✱ ✱✱✱✱✱ †	+ ——————MºO NTⱭN Upsala.

CNUT.—A.D. 1016—1035.

Type :—B.M., IV.; Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 6, and pl. xxiii., Nos. 7 to 17; Hawkins, 212; Hildebrand, E.—Sometimes the legend of the obverse commences under the head.

1.	+ CNVT REX ⱭNGLORV	+ ALFVI· MO NTⱭN R.C., Copenhagen
2.	+ ——— —— ⱭNGLORVM	+ ——— — —— ,,
3.	+ ——— —— ⱭNGLORVI	+ ÆNEMⱭN MO NTⱭ Hildebrand.
4.	+ ——— —— ———	+ BRⱭND MO NTⱭN R.C., Copenhagen
5, 6.	+ —— —— ———	+ BRVNNTⱭN NⱭN [Qy. Sandwich?] Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
7.	+ ——— —— ⱭNGLOR	+ BRVNSTⱭN MO ST Webster.
8.	+ ——— —— ———	+ CⱭVELIN MO STⱭ ,,
9, 10.	+ —— —— ⱭNGLORV	+ ——— — —— R. C., Copenhagen; Holmboe.
11.	+ CNV✱ ✱EX ———	+ CⱭVE✱IN MO NT R.C., Copenhagen[21]
12.	+ CNVT REX ———	+ C·ⱭVLIN MO NTⱭN ,,
13.	+ ——— —— ———	+ CⱭVLIN — —— Holmboe.
14.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ——— — —— [as Ruding, pl. xxiii., No. 8, and Hildebrand, E. var. 9]. Hildebrand.
15.	+ ——— —— ⱭNGLORVM	+ CⱭVLIN MO NTⱭN Sale in 1862.

(20) Kindly ceded to the writer by Wm. Allen, Esq., of Winchmore Hill.
(21) "A little piece of this coin is broken out."—M. Herbst.

* There is a peculiar diaper pattern in the angles of the star-shaped device on the reverse—the lettering is very square in shape, and very carefully formed.
† Legend of obverse unascertained.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
16, 17.	+ ÐNVT REX ᚪNÐLORV	+ EᚪDᚹINE MO ᛝTᚪ Holmboe; Upsala.
18.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORVM	+ FÆRÐRIM — —— Hildebrand.
19.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ÐODELEOF — —— [as Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 6]. Sharp—a small piece broken off.
20, 21.	+ —— —— ᚪNÐLORV	+ ÐODELEOF MO ᛝT Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
22, 23.	+ —— —— ᚪNÐLORVI	+ ÐODRIÐ MO ᛝTᚪ Hildebrand; R.C., Copenhagen.
24.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ÐODRIÐ ON ᛝTᚪN Webster.
25.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLOI	+ ÐODᚹINE M ᛝTᚪ R. C., Berlin.
26.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLO	+ ——— — —— Holmboe.
27.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ÐOᚹINE MO · ᛝTA R. C., Copenhagen.
28.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORV	+ ÐODᚹINE MO ᛝTA · ,,
29.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ÐODᚹINE MO ᛝTᚪN ,,
30.	+ ——— RE+ ———	+ ——— — ᛝTᚪ · [as Ruding, pl. xxii., No. 6]. B.M.
31.	+ —— REX ᚪNÐLORVM	+ ÐODᚹINE M'O ᛝTᚪ [as Ruding, pl. xxiii., No. 7]. B.M.
32, 33.	+ —— —— ———	+ ÐODᚹINE M'O ᛝTᚪ Hilde.; Holmb.
34.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORV	+ ÐODᚹNE MO ᛝTᚪN ,,
35.	+ ÐNVT REX ᚪNÐLORVI	+ LEOFᛝIÐE M'O ᛝTᚪ R. C., Copenhagen.
36.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORVM	+ LEOFᛝIÐE M'O —— Hildebrand.
37.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORV	+ LEOFᚹINE —— ᛝT ,,
38.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORV:	+ OᛝᚹOLD MO ᛝTᚪN Holmboe.
39.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORVI	+ OᛝᚹOLÐ — ᛝTᚪ Hildebrand.
40.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORV	+ ᛝᚹᚪRTBRᚪD ᛝTᚪ R. C., Copenhagen
41.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORVM	+ ᛝᚹERT M'O ᛝTᚪNF [as Ruding, xxiii., No. 7]. B.M.
42.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ᛝᚹERTEROLD O ᛝTᚪN Upsala.
43, 44.	+ —— —— ᚪNÐLORV	+ ÐVRᛝTᚪN MO ᛝT Hilde.; Holmboe.
45.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐLORVM	+ ——— — — Hildebrand.
46.	+ ——— —— ———	+ ᚹVLFᛝIÐE MO ᛝTᚪ ,,

Type:—B.M., VII.; Ruding, pl. xxiii., Nos. 19, 20; Hawkins, 213; Hildebrand, G.

47.	+ ÐNVT ·· EX ᚪNÐ	+ ÆDᚹINE ON ᛝTᚪN R.C., Copenhagen
48.	+ ——— REX ᚪN	+ ——— — ᛝTᚪN Holmboe.
49.	+ ——— —— ᚪNÐL	+ ——— — ——— ,,
50.	+ ——— ·REX ᚪN	+ ÆÐᚹINE — ᛝTᚪN R.C. Copenhagen.
51.	+ ✱✱✱✱ ✱✱✱ ✱✱✱*	+ ALFAN ON ᛝTANFO Upsala.
52.	+ ——— REX A	+ EDᚹINE — ᛝTᚪN Stockholm.[22]

(22) The Royal Swedish Collection—particulars supplied by MM. Müller and Herbst, after communication with M. B. E. Hildebrand.

* Legend of obverse unascertained.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
53.	+ ENVT ⁘EX ΠNL	+ EΠDVINE MO N+AN R. C., Copenhagen.
54.	+ ——— REX ——	+ ÆDVRD ON STΠNFO Hildebrand.
55.	+ ——— —— Π	+ ÆLISMΠN ON STΠN Holmboe.
56-59.	+ —— RELX ΠN	+ ÆISMΠN ⊙N STΠNF⊙ B.M.; Hildebrand; Upsala; R. C., Copenhagen.
60.	+ ——— R·EX A:	+ ÆÐEÐNTΠNE MO NTΠN B.M.
61-64.	+ —— RELX Π	+ ÆÐEÐNTΠN — ——— Sharp (14 grs.); Hildebrand; Upsala; R.C., Copenhagen.
65, 66.	+ —— ——— ΠN	+ LΠVELIN ON NTΠNF Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
67.	+ ——— ——— Π	+ LVΠLIN ON STΠNFO Hildebrand.
68-70.	+ —— ——— —	+ LODVINE ON STΠN Hildebrand; (another coin, a little different); R. C., Copenhagen.
71.	+ ——— EX ΠNL	+ LODVINE MO NTΠNF Hildebrand.
72, 73.	+ —— RELX Π	+ LONVINE ON ——— Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
74-77.	+ —— ——— —	+ LEOFRIL MO NTΠN Holmboe, two coins; (two other coins varying somewhat in type).
78.	+ ——— ——— —	+ LEOFRIL ON STΠNF Hildebrand.
79.	+ ——— R·EX Π:	+ ——— MO NTΠN B. Brahe.[23]
80.	+ ——— R·ELX ΠN	+ LE⊙FSIL ON STΠNF R. C., Copenhagen.
81, 82.	+ —— RELX Π	+ LEOFVINE ON STΠN Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
83.	+ ——— ——— ΛX	+ LE⊙ÐVINE ⊙N STΠN: B.M.
84, 85.	+ —— ——— Π	+ LEOFVOLD ON STΠ Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
86.	+ ——— R·EX M:	+ LE⊙FV⊙LD ⊙N STΠN B.M.
87-89.	+ —— R·ELX Π:	+ LE⊙FVOLD ON —— R. C., Copenhagen; B. Brahe; Holmboe.
90.	+ ——— RELX ΠN	+ LE⊙FVOLD ON STΠN R. C., Copenhagen.
91.	+ ——— :RELX Π	+ LIFINE ON STΠFOR ,,
92.	+ ——— REX ΠN	+ MOROLF ON NTΠN Sharp (12 grs.).
93, 94.	+ —— —— ΠNL	+ ——— — ——— Holmboe—two coins.
95.	+ ——— —— ——	+ MORVLF ON STΠNF R. C., Copenhagen.
96.	+ ——— RELX Π	+ MORVLF — ——— Webster.

(23) His Excellency the Count of Bille Brahe of Brahesminde on Fyen, Denmark—communicated by M. Herbst.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
97, 98. + ᛈNVT RELX ᛣ	+ MORVLF ON ST᛭NF R. C., Copenhagen; Stockholm.
99-101. + ——— ——— ᛣN	+ MORVLF ON ST᛭NF Holmboe—two other coins varying slightly.
102. + ᛈNVT R·EX ᛣN	+ ⊙NᚹERD MO NT᛭N Thomsen, of Copenhagen.[24]
103. + ——— REX	+ ONᚹERD ON NT᛭NF: Lünd.[25]
104, 105. + ——— RELX ᛣ	+ ——— MO NT᛭N Hildc.; Holmb.
106. + ——— ——— —	+ OSᚹ✱✱✱ ✱✱ NT᛭NFO [a fragment] Hildebrand.
107. + ——— ——— —	+ OSᚹERD O ST᛭NFO: Holmboe.
108. + ——— ——— —	+ ⊙SᚹERD ⊙ ST᛭NF⊙ R. C., Copenhagen.
109. + ——— ——— ᛣ:	+ OZᚹOLD MO NT᛭NF Imp. Mus. of the Hermitage, St. Petersburgh.[26]
110, 111. + ——— REEX ᛣ:	+ ⊙SᚹOLD ⊙N ST᛭NF⊙ R. C., Copenhagen; Stockholm.
112. + ᛈNVT·· ᛈX ᚪNᛈ	+ ÐVRNTAN ON STAN A. C. Mohr.[27]
113. + ᛈNVT: REX ᚪI	+ ——— — NTAN R. C., Copenhagen.
114. + ᛈNVT ELX ᛣNᛚ	+ ÐVRNTAN — NTAN Hildebrand.
115, 116. + ᛈNVT REX ᛣ	+ ——— — ST᛭N Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
117, 118. + ——— EX ᛣNᛚ	+ ÐVRNTAN ON NT᛭N Holmboe (two coins).
119-121. + ——— REX ᛣ	+ ÐVRVLF ON ST᛭N Phillips; Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
122-129. + ——— RELX ᛣ	+ ÐVRVLF ON ST᛭N Holmboe (eight coins).
130. + ᛈNVT ——— —	+ ÐVRV.LF ON NT᛭·N Imp. Mus. Hermitage, St. Petersburgh.
131. + ——— R·ÆLX ᛣ:	+ ÐVRV.LF ON ST᛭N: Shp (15½ grs.).
132. + ✱✱✱T RELX ✱✱✱	+ ✱✱✱✱N MO NT᛭N [half the coin, probably a half-penny]. Holmboe.

(24) The late Director, C. J. Thomsen, of the Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen.

(25) The Collection of Coins of the University of Lund, Sweden; particulars kindly supplied by M. Herbst.

(26) M. Adrien de Longpérier having obligingly informed me that his friend M. Reichel formerly possessed three coins of Cnut, of the Stamford Mint, described in his Catalogue, tome vi., p. 31, Nos. 240, 241, 242, and that the same were now in the Museum of the Hermitage, at St. Petersburgh, and not having access to M. Reichel's catalogue, I wrote to his Excellency M. le Baron de Koehne, "Conseiller du Musée de . . . . . St. Petersburgh," and received from that gentleman impressions in foil of eight coins of Cnut of the Stamford Mint, deposited in that museum, accompanied by a most courteous note.

I wish to record the fact that in no instance have I made an application for information without a courteous reply and a compliance with my request.

(27) The collection of the late Consul A. C. Mohr, of Copenhagen; particulars kindly supplied by M. Herbst.

Type:—As Æthelred's coin, Ruding, pl. xii., No. 1.—Helmeted bust to the left.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
133. + ÐNVT REX	+ ÐVRVLF ON NTNF Sale by Sotheby and Wilkinson, in 1862.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. xxii., Nos. 1 to 5; Hawkins, 208; Hildebrand, H.

134. + ÐN/T RE+:	+ NRÐRIM ⊙NI STNV Thomsen, of Copenhagen.
135. + **** **** *	+ ÐARÐRIM ONI NTAN Upsala.
136. + ÐNV REÐX	+ BLÆÐNMON ON SN Hildebrand.
137. + ÐNVT · REX	+ BRVNÞINE ON STN ,,
138. + ——— REÐX	+ EDÞERD ON STNFO: B.M.
139. + ÐN/T RE+:	+ FÆRÐRIM: ON STAN R. C., Copenhagen.
140. + ÐNV · ·T RE+ ··	+ FÆRÐRIM ON STN: ,,
141. + ——— RE+	+ ——— — STNN: Lünd.
142. + ÐNVT REX	+ FNRÐRIM ONI STNN Hildebrand.
143. + ——— REÐX	+ FRÐIÞINE ON STN Webster.
144. + REÐX · ÐNVT:	+ ÐODRIÐ ⊙N STNN R. C., Copenhagen.
145. + ÐNVT REÐÐX	+ ÐODÞINE ON STN Hildebrand.
146-148. + ÐNVT: · REÐ·X:	+ ——— ONN STNN B.M.; Hildebrand; R. C. Copenhagen.
149. + ÐNV·T RE+:	+ LEFÞINE ON STNN· Thomsen.
150. + ÐNVT RE+	+ LEOFÞINE ON STA·· R. C., Copenhagen.
151. + ——— REÐX:	+ L·EOFÞINE ON S:TA: ,,
152. + ——— REÐ+	+ LEOFÞINE ON STN B.M.
153. + ÐNV·T REÐ+:	+ LÐOEÞNE ONI STA† R. C., Copenhagen.
154. + ÐNVT REÐX	+ LEOEÞNE —— —— Hildebrand.
155. + ——— ·REÐX	+ LEOÞINE ON STNN: B.M.
156. + ÐNV·T· RE+	+ LEOÞINE · — ——— [· in front of head] Sharp (14 grs.).‡
157. + ÐN/.T RE+	+ LEOÞINE · ON STNN: R. C., Copenhagen.
158. + ÐNVT REÐX	+ LEOFDÆN ON STN Sharp (from Lindsay's sale—15½ grs.).
159. + ——— ———	+ LEOFEDÆI ON STNN Hildebrand.
160. + ÐNVT REX.	+ LEOFDÆII ON STN ,,
161. + ÐINVT RÐÐX	+ ——— — —— Sharp (16 grs.).
162. + ÐNVT·· REÐ+ ··	+ ——— — STNN R. C., Copenhagen.

* Legend on obverse unascertained.
† "The king's head is not better executed than the name of the moneyer."—M. Herbst.
‡ Kindly presented to me by John Evans, Esq., F.R.S.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
163. + ÐNV·T REX	+ LEOFEDEL ON STΠ B.M.
164. + ÐNV·T RE+:	+ MORVLF — —— Hildebrand.
165. + ——— ——	+ ——— — STΠN B.M.
166. + ——— ——	+ ——— — STΠNF ,,
167. + ÐNVT· RELX	+ ——— ON STΠN: R. C., Copenhagen.
168. + ÐNV··T REL+:	+ MORVLF — STΠN Sharp (15½ grs.).
169. + ÐNV·T REL·XΠ	+ ——— — ——— R. C., Copenhagen.
170. + ÐNVT· RELX	+ MORVLF — STΠM Ruding, pl. xxii. No. 1.
171. + ÐNV·T REL+	+ OSƿΠRD ON STΠ Hildebrand.
172. + ——— RELX.	+ ——— — STΠN Imp. Mus. of the Hermitage, St. Petersburgh.
173. + ÐNVT REX:	+ OSƿERD ON STΠNF Lünd.
174. + ——— RELX:	+ OSƿERÐ ON STΠNF: Rashleigh (16 grs.).
175. + ÐNV··T REL:	+ ÐVRSTΠN ON STΠ B.M.
176, 177. + ÐNVT RELX:	+ ——— — —— B.M.; Hilde.
178. + ÐNVT RELX Π	+ ——— — —— Hildebrand.
179. + ——— RE+:	+ ——— — STΠN R. C., Copenhagen.
180. + ——— RE.+	+ ÐVRSTΠN ON STΠN' Imp. Mus. of the Hermitage, St. Petersburgh.
181. + ——— RELX.	+ ÐVRSTΠN ON STΠN' ,,
182. + ——— RELX:	+ ÐVRSTΠ ON STHI R. C., Copenhagen.
183. + ——— ·REL+.	+ ÐVSTΠN ON STΠNFO Webster.
184. + ÐNVT ·R·ELX Π:	+ ——— — STΠNFR Shp. (17 gr.)
185. + ——— ·REL+.	+ ——— — STΠFR B.M.
186. + ÐNV✱ ·· RELX··	+ ——— — STΠNFR [perforated] R. C., Copenhagen.
187. + ÐNVT· RELX.·.	+ ÐVRVLF ON STΠ R.C., Copenhagen.
188. + ——— ———	+ ——— — STΠN ,,
189, 190. + —— RELX	+ ——— — STΠ: Imp. Mus. of the Hermitage, St. Petersburgh (two coins).
191. + ÐNVT RE+:	+ ÐVRVLF ON STΠN· Laxton.[28]
192, 193. + —— RELX	+ ——— — STΠN Hildebrand; R. C., Copenhagen.
194. + ——— ———	+ ÐVRVLF ON STΠNF Webster.
195. + ——— ✱EL+··	+ [ÐV]RVLF ON STΠ✱✱✱ [half the coin—a half-penny]. Imp. Mus. of the Hermitage, St. Petersburgh.

(28) Thomas Laxton, Esq., of Stamford.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
196. + ENVT ·REEX	+ ƿIDNΠ ON STÆNII [Qy. Steyning?] B.M.
197. + ✱✱✱✱ ✱✱✱✱?	+ ✱✱✱✱✱✱ ✱N STΠNF [a fragment] Hildebrand.

Type:—B.M., II.; Ruding, pl. xxiii., Nos. 22 and 23; Hawkins, 209; Hildebrand, I.

198. + ENVT REEX Π	+ EODRIE ON STΠNFOR R.C., Copenhagen.
199. + ENVT·· R€C+	+ EODRIC — ———— ,,
200. + ———- R€EX·	+ ———— ⊙N STΠNF⊙ ,,
201. + ENVT REEX Π	+ LEFƿINE ON STΠNFO Hildebrand.
202. + ENVT ———	+ LEOFRIE ONN ——— ,,
203. + ENVT REE+:	+ ———— ONL STΠN/ R. C., Copenhagen.

HAROLD I.—A.D. 1035—1039.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. xxiv., No. 2; omitted in Hawkins; Hildebrand, A.

1. + HARO·L·D RE	+ B·RVNRINE ⊙N STΠ R. C., Copenhagen.
2. + HΠR·OL·D RE	+ BRVNƿINE ON STΠ B.M.
3. + HARO·L·D REI	+ BRVNRINE ON STΠ R.C., Copenhagen.
4. + ———— ——	+ BRVNƿINE ON STΠ· R. C., Berlin.
5. + HΠRO·LD RE+	+ EEFR·IE ON STΠ·NF [Qy. LEFRIE, blundered?] Webster.
6. + HΠRORD REX	+ FΠRERIM ON STΠF [Qy. Stafford?] Hildebrand.
7. + HΠROLD RE	+ EODRIE ON STΠNFO Hildebrand.
8. + ———— R	+ LEFEDÆI ON STΠN ,,
9. + ———— REX	+ ———— — ———— ,,
10. + HAROLD R	+ LEOFDÆI ON STΠNF ,,
11. + HΠROLD REX	+ LEFRIE ON STΠNVO ,,
12. + HΠR⊙LD RE+:	+ LEFRIE ⊙N STA·NFO Thomsen.
13. + HAROLD RE+	+ ———— ON STΠIEO R. C., Copenhagen.
14. + ———— REX	+ L·EF.RIE ON STA·NF: Shp. (17½ gr.)
15. + ———— R:	+ LEOFRIE ON STΠ·· ,, (11 gr.)
16. + ———— REI	+ ———— — STA·N R. C., Copenhagen.
17. + ———— REX	+ LEOFRIE ON STΠNF: B.M.
18. + ———— REEX	+ ———— — STΠN Hildebrand.
19. + ———— REX	+ LEOFRNE ON STΠ Webster.
20. + ———— —— Π	+ LIFNEE ON STΠNFOR Hildebrand.
21. + HARO·L·D REI	+ OSƿARD ON STΠNF: R. C., Copenhagen.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
22. + HΛROLD REEX	+ SᚹERT ON STΛNVO Hildebrand.
23. + ——— ———	+ ——— ONN STΛNFOFO ,,
24. + ——— ———	+ ÐVRSTΛ ON STΛFO : [Qy. Stafford?] B. B. Brahe.
25. + ——— REE+ :	+ ÐVRVLF ⊙N STΛNFO Thomsen.
26. + HΛRO·L·D REEX	+ ÐVRVLF ONN STANFO : R. C., Copenhagen.

Type :—Ruding, pl. xxiv., No. 1.

27. + HΛROLD REE+ Λ	+ EL✱✱✱✱✱ ONN STΛNF Sainthill.

Type :—B.M., II.; Ruding, pl. xxiv., No. 4; Hawkins, 214; Hildebrand, B.

28. + HARO·LD REX :	+ ΛVFAᚹ OII S·TAᚹ R. C., Copenhagen.*
29. + HΛROΛLD REX	+ ΛRᛖIL ON STΛN Hildebrand.
30. + HΛROLD REE	+ ——— — ——— ,,
31. + ——— ———	+ ΛRᛖYL ONN STΛ ,,
32. + HΛR·OLD RE·:	+ BRVII·ᚹINE O STA Lünd.
33. + :HΛR:LD RE	+ BRVᚹI M⁻⊙ : ƧTA Sharp (11½ grs.).
34. + ——— —	+ ——— ON —— Webster.
35. + HΛROLD REEX	+ EΛSTRI ON STΛN ,,
36. + ——— ———	+ FÆREᚱRIM O STΛ Hildebrand.
37. + ——— REE	+ EODRIIE ON STΛ ,,
38. + HΛR:OLD R·EX.	+ EODᚹ.HF ON STΛ· B.M.
39. + ——— ———	+ EODDINE ON STΛ [Qy. EODᚹINE blundered?] B.M.
40. + HΛROLDLD RE	+ EODᚹIN OIN STΛ Hildebrand.
41. + HΛRO:LDLD RE :	+ EODᚹINE — —— Sharp (15 grs.).
42. + HΛRO ⁚·LDLD RE :	+ EODᚹ.INE ON STA : R. C. Copenhagen.
43. + HAR : LD RE+ :	+ Nᚹ : ΛRT : OH : NTA Thomsen.
44. + HΛROLD REX Λ	+ SᚹΛRT ON STΛN Webster.
45. + ——— —— —	+ ÐVRVLF— —— Hildebrand.
46. + HΛROLD RIX	+ ᚹILRIN ON STΛF [Qy. Stafford?] Hildebrand.

As Hildebrand, B, a.

47. + HMROLD ΠEE [a variety].	+ BRVNᚹINE oN S⁻TΛE Shp. (14 grs.)
48. + HΛRO : LD RE+·	+ 6·[Qy. B·?] RVNᚹINE ON STΛ R.C., Berlin.
49. + HARO·LD RE+ :	+ EASEᚱI ON STΛN R. C., Copenhagen.
50. + HΛROLD REE	+ EODRIE ON STΛ Hildebrand.

* "The king's head is of barbarous workmanship."—M. Herbst.

HARTHACNUT.—A.D. 1040—1042.

Type:—B.M., II.; Ruding, pl. xxiv., No. 3; Hawkins, 217; Hildebrand, B.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
1. + HΛÐ✱ENVTT	+ BRVNƿINE ON STA R. C., Copenhagen.
2. + HΛRÐΛENVT RЄ	+ ÐVRSTAN ON STA ,,
3. + HΛRDNVTT	+ ÐVRVLF ON STΛNF Shp. (15½ grs.) —from Capt. Murchison's sale.

EADWARD THE CONFESSOR.—A.D. 1042—1066.

Type:—B.M., V.; Ruding, pl. xxv., No. 33; Hawkins, 226; Hildebrand, A.

1. + EDƿΛRD REX	+ ÆLFEII ON STΛN Hildebrand.
2. + ——— ——	+ BΛLDƿINE ON SΛN [Qy. Sandwich?] Hildebrand.
3. + ——— ——	+ BΛLDƿINE ON SΛN [a variety]. Hildebrand.
4. + EDƿERD REX ·Λ··	+ LODRIC ON STΛNF R. C., Copenhagen.
5. + ——— —— ——	+ LODƿINE ON ——— ,,
6. + ——— —— Λ	+ ——— — ——— Hildebrand.
7. + ——— —— —	+ ———ON——— Webster.

Type:—B.M., X.; Ruding, pl. xxx., No. 31; Hawkins, 225; Hildebrand, A var.c.

8. + EΛDƿΛRD REX ΛN	+ LEFRIC ON STΛNF Hildebrand.

Type:—B.M., II.; Ruding, pl. xxv., Nos. 21 to 24; Hawkins, 220; Hildebrand, C.

9. + EDƿER·D REX (as Ruding, No. 22)	+ ΛRFRE ON STΛNFOR R. C., Copenhagen.
10, 11. + EDƿER·.·D RE+	+ ΛRFRE ON STΛNFOR Shp. (14 gr.); Phillips.
12. + EDƿER·.·D RE+	+ ΛRFE ON ƧTΛNFORI Shp. (14 grs.)
13. + EDƿERD REX	+ BΛLDƿINE ON ZTΛN Hildebrand.
14. + ——— ——	+ BRVNƿINE ON STΛ ,,
15. + EDƿΛRD ——	+ ——— — —— Laxton.
16. + EDƿ.·RD RE+	+ BRVNƿINNE ON ꟽTΛ Sharp (from Lindsay's sale—14 grs.).
17. + EDƿII:RE R+	+ HΛRLIN ON ƧTΛNF. [The obverse has the sceptre *across* the king's breast —see forward, No. 30]. Sharp (from Whitbourn's sale,[29] 1869—14½ grs.).*

(29) The late Rd. Whitbourn, Esq., of Godalming.

* Kindly ceded to me by Mr. John Cockburn, of Richmond.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
18. + EDꝼE··RD RE+	+ HΛRLEIN OH STΛN Sharp (Whitbourn's sale—14 grs.).
19. + ———— ——	+ HΛRNEIN OH STΛN B.M. ["HΛRLIN"—Mr. Head.].[30]
20. + ———— REX	+ HΛREIN ON ȣTΛNE: Phillips.
21. + ———— ——	+ LEDFRIC ON STΛN Webster.
22. + ———— ——	+ LEFꝼINE ON ꝏTΛNI ,,
23. + EDꝼELD ——	+ LEOFRIC ON STΛN Hildebrand.
24. + EDꝼER:D RE+	+ LEOFRINE ON ȣTΛNF: B.M. ["LEOCRINE"—Mr. Head.]
25. + ———— ——	+ LEOFꝼINE ON ȣTΛNF B.M.
26. + ———— ——	+ LIOEꝼINE ON SΛN [Qy. Sandwich?] B.M.
27. + ———— ——	+ LIΛREIN ONN STΛN Webster.
28. + ———— ——	+ ꝼILLRIF ON ȣTΛNF: B.M.
29. + ———— ——	+ ꝼILLRII' ON NTΛNFO Webster.
30. + EDꝼERD PEX	+ ———— — ———— [The obverse has the sceptre *across* the king's breast —this coin is figured in Lindsay's remarkable coins, 1860, pl. ii., No. 24 —see also *ante*, No. 17]. Sharp (Lindsay's sale—15 grs.).

Type:—B.M. III.; Ruding, pl. xxiv., No. 12; Hawkins, 221; Hildebrand, D. ["PΛL+"].

31. + EDꝼΛRD REX	+ ÆLFEH ON NTΛNF Hildebrand.
32. + EDꝼARD RI	+ ÐVRVLF ON STA R.C., Copenhagen.
33. + EDIPPN┼ΛL	+ ꝼVLNʘ:Ð ON STΛI: B.M.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. xxiv., No. 3; Hawkins, 219; Hildebrand, E.

34. + EDꝼE·RD REX	+ ⊧ERFRE ON STΛNEOR: B.M. (Chancton hoard.[31])
35. + EDꝼΛRD ——	+ ĿODꝼINE ON STΛNF Hildebrand.
36. + EDꝼERD ——	+ ꝼVLFꝼINE ON STΛNFO ,,

Type:—B.M., XIII.; Ruding, pl. xxv., No. 18; Hawkins, 227; Hildebrand, F.

37. + EDꝼERD RE+	+ BRVNꝼINE ON NTΛ B.M. (Chancton hoard.)
38. + EDꝼΛRD RX	+ ĿODꝼINE ON STΛNF Hildebrand.

(30) B. V. Head, Esq., of the British Museum, in his Account of the Chancton Hoard.

(31) See the able and exhaustive account of this hoard by Barclay V. Head, Esq. (already alluded to), published in the Numismatic Chronicle, Part II., 1867; a copy of which account was kindly presented to me by that gentleman.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
39. + EDVRD RE·	+ LIFꝺINE ON ꝏNDꝺ [Qy. Sandwich, or ꝺ blundered for F ?] B.M. (Chancton hoard).
40. + EDꝺER·D REX	+ LIFꝺINE ON ꝏNEI [Qy. Sandwich ?] B.M. (Chancton hoard).

Type :—B.M., IV.; Ruding, pl. xxiv., Nos. 9, 10; Hawkins, 222; Hildebrand, G.

41. + EꟷDꝺꟷRD RE·	+ LIOFꝺINE ON Sꟷ: [Qy. Sandwich ?] B.M. (Chancton hoard).
42. + EꟷDꝺꟷRRD RE	+ LIOFꝺINE ON ꝏꟷNLE [Qy. Sandwich ?] B.M. (Chancton hoard).
43. + ———— —	+ LIOFꝺINE ON ꝏTꟷNFO Webster.
44. + EꟷDꝺꟷRD —	+ OꝏꝺꟷRD ON ꝏTꟷN B.M. (Chancton hoard).

NOTE.—I have a coin of this type. *Obv.* + EꟷDRꟷRRD RE. *Rev.* + ÆLFRIC ON BERDEꝏT (19 grains). Ruding has not identified this mint; but it has been suggested to me, that, inasmuch as in the reigns of William I. and II. coins were struck at Stamford bearing the name BVRD, BVRDI, BARDE, for Burgh or Peterborough, that possibly BERDEꝏT may have been a compound of the names of the two towns, as we might say now, "Burghley, Stamford." I do not accept this solution.

Type :—B.M., XV.; Ruding, xxiv., Nos. 13, 14, pl. xxv., Nos. 15, 16; Hawkins, 228; Hildebrand, H.—Throne type; Reverse, martlets in angles of cross.

45. + EꟷDꝺEꟷRD REX ꟷN6LO	+ BRVNꝺINE ⊙N STꟷ· Sainthill.
46. + EꟷDꝺꟷRD REX ꟷN6LOR	+ LODꝺINE ON STꟷNF Shp. (18½ gr.)
47. + EDꝺꟷRD X ꟷNЄL·	+ LEFꝺINE ON STꟷNF ,, (18 gr.)
48. + ▸EꟷDꝺꟷRD REX ꟷN6LOX	+ LEOFRIL — ——— B.M. (Chancton hoard.)
49. + EꟷDꝺꟷRD REX ꟷN6LOV	+ ꝺILLRIꝺ ⊙N ——— M. San Quintino, of Turin.[32]

Type :—B.M., VI.; Ruding, pl. xxv., No. 26; Hawkins, 223; Hildebrand, I.

50. + EꟷDꝺIID RE·	+ BRVNꝺINE ON ST· B.M. (Chancton hoard.)
51. + EꟷDꝺꟷRD REX	+ BRVNꝺINE — STꟷ B.M.
52. + ———— ——	+ LODꝺINE ON STꟷ * Webster.
53. + ———— ——	+ 6ODꝺINE ON STꟷ· * B.M.
54. + ———— ——	+ 6ODVINE — —— * Laxton.

(32) Kindly communicated by M. Adrien de Longpérier, of the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and verified by Mr. Pfister, of the British Museum. This coin was one of more than one hundred Anglo-Saxon and early English coins found some years ago at St. Paul's at Rome.

* These coins have an annulet in the centre of the cross on the reverse.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
55-57. + EADƿARD REX	+ GODƿINE ON STNE B.M.; Sharp (19 grs.), Sharp (20 grs.). *
58. + EADƿ/\RD RE+	+ SƿARLOLF ON ST.·. B.M. (Chancton hoard).

Type:—B.M., VII.; Ruding, pl. xxv., No. 35; Hawkins, 224; Hildebrand, K.

59. + EADƿARD REX	+ GODEƧBRAND ON Ƨ [Qy. Stamford?] B.M.

NOTE.—Figured by Ruding, Hawkins, and Hildebrand; but, as the last does not include it in his catalogue of the Royal Collection at Stockholm, it is probable that the same coin is represented by all three, and that it is unique.

Type:—B.M., XVI.; Ruding, pl. xxvi., Nos. 36, 37; Hawkins, 229; Hildebrand, B. Small size—query halfpennies?

60. + EDƿERD RE	+ ARFRA ON STA: B.M.
61. + ——— —	+ FAREDIR ON SA [Qy. Sandwich?] B.M.
62. + EDERD RE	+ EODDINE ON S: † [Qy. LODƿINE blundered?—so read by Mr. Head.] B.M.
63. + EDƿERD RE	+ LODƿINE ON ꝏ † R.C., Copenhagen.
64. + ——— —	+ ——— — S: † B.M. [† Qy. Stamford?]
65. + ——— —	+ LEFƿINE ON SA [Qy. Sandwich?] B.M.
66. + ——— —	+ LEFƿINE ON STAI: B.M.
67, 68. + EDƿERD·.·	+ L·EOFDINE ON SA [Qy. Sandwich?] B.M. (two coins).
69. + EDERD RE	+ LEOFƿIN-E ON STA B.M.
70, 71. + EDƿERD RE	+ LNƿINE ON SAN B.M. (two coins) [read "LIFƿINE ON SAN" by Mr. Head].
72. + ——— —	+ LEOFRL ON STAN R.C., Copenhagen
73. + ——— —	+ ƿVLFƿINE ON S [Qy. Stamford?] B.M.

HAROLD II.—A.D. 1066.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. xxvi., No. 3; Hawkins, 230.

1. + HAROLD RE+ ANGL·	+ BRVNƿINE ON STA Sharp (19 grs.).
2. + ——— REX ———	+ ——— — —— B.M.
3. + ——— —— ———	+ BRVNƿIN — —— Webster.

* Kindly ceded to me by Mr. John Cockburn, of Richmond, Surrey.

WILLIAM I. (The Conqueror).—A.D. 1066—1087.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 7; Hawkins, 233.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
1.	+ ƿILLEMVS REX	+ LIOFƿINE ON ST/N B.M.

Type:—B.M., IX.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 2; Hawkins, 234.—The large crown or "Bonnet" type.

2.	+ \/LLEMVS REX /\I	+ DERMON ON STÆ [Qy. Steyning?] B.M.

Type:—B.M., IXa.; Ruding, pl. A, No. 3; Hawkins, 235.

3.	+ ƿILLEMII REX	+ LIOFƿINE ON STⱯ Beal.[33]

Type:—B.M., VI.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 1; Hawkins, 236.—The "Canopy" type.

4.	+ ƿILLEMVS REX	+ ÆLFHƿN·E ON STAN B.M.
5.	+ ƿILLEMV ——	+ BRVNƿINE ON STAI ,,
6.	+ ƿILLEMVS ——	+ LIOFƿINE ON STANI Strawberry Hill sale—bought by Mr. Martin.[34]

Type:—B.M., VIII.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 5; Hawkins, 237.—The "Two Sceptres" type.

7.	+ ƿILLELM REX ANGLƠR	+ LEOFƿINE ON STA B.M.

WILLIAM I. or II.—A.D. 1066—1087; 1087—1100.

Type:—B.M., X.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 4; Hawkins, 241, 242.—The "Pax" type, "PⱯXS" (each letter enclosed in a circle) in the angles of cross on reverse.

1.	+ ƿILLELMRE+	+ BRIINSTIIN ON STN Sainthill.
2, 3.	+ ƿILLELMREX	+ ———— — STI Sharp (20½ gr.); Sharp (22 grs.).
4, 5.	+ ƿILLELM REX	+ BRVNSTAN ON STN [monogram of A and N]. B.M.; Pownall.[35]
6.	+ ———— ——	+ BRVNSTAN ON STN B.M.
7.	+ ———— ——	+ ———— — STI ,,
8.	+ ———— ——	+ DVNIC ONN STAN Pownall.
9.	+ ———— ——	+ DVNIL ONN STANE B.M.
10.	+ ———— ——	+ GODELEF ON STA Rashleigh.
11.	+ ———— ——	+ ———— — STAN B.M.

(33) Mr. John Beal, of Oundle. This coin was found in the neighbourhood.
(34) Communicated by Mr. Bergne.
(35) The Rev. Assheton Pownall, F.S.A., South Kilworth Rectory, Rugby.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
12, 13. + ƿILLELM REX	+ GODELEF ON STIIN Sharp (21 gr.); Sharp (from sale of W. Salt, F.S.A.—20 grs.).
14. + ——— ——	+ ÐVRBEN ON STANI Webster.
15, 16. + ——— ——	+ ƿVLFƿORD ON STII B.M.; Pownall.
17-19. + ƿILLELMREX	+ ƿILLFƿORD — —— Sharp (20½ grs.); Sharp (another coin of the exact type but from different dies—21 grs); Sharp (another—21 grs.).[36]

NOTE.—In the account by the late Mr. Hawkins (given in Ruding) of the great treasure of more than 6,500 pennies of William I. and II., found at Beaworth, Hants., in June, 1833, is a full list of the names of the moneyers and mints which occur upon the coins, and the number of coins of each. With the exception of about 100 coins all were of the "Pax" type; and of these, 51 were of the Stamford mint—viz., 17 "BRVNSTAN ON STI," 11 "BRVNSTAN ON STN," 5 "GODELEF ON STAN," and 18 "ƿVLFƿORD [or "PVLFƿORD"] ON STA." Besides these, there were 7 of "SEƿORD ON BVRD" and 1 of "SEƿORD ON BVRDI"—*see below*. There is no doubt that some of the coins described in my List are of this find.

Type:—B.M., V.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 13; Hawkins, 243.

20. + ƿILLELMREX	+ LIOFƿINE ON STNFR Sainthill.
21. + ƿILLELM REX	+ ƿVLFƿORD ON STII Sharp (21½ gr.).

MONEY OF THE ABBEY OF BURGH OR PETERBOROUGH—STRUCK AT THE STAMFORD MINT.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 10; Hawkins, 238.

1. ƿILLEM REX IINI	+ SEƿOR ON BΛRDE Webster.

Type:—B.M., X.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 4; Hawkins, 241.—The "PAX" type.

2, 3. + ƿILLELM REX	+ SEƿORD ON BIIRD* B.M., Sharp (21 grs.).

Type:—B.M., V.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 13; Hawkins, 243.

4. + ƿILLELM REXI	+ SEƿORD ON BIIRDI† Shp. (20½ gr.)

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS)—A.D. 1087—1100.

Type:—B.M., IV.; Ruding, pl. A, No. 15; Hawkins, 247.

1. + ƿILLELM REI‡	+ HIRM[ILI?] ON STΠI Sharp (Whitbourn's sale—17½ grs.).

(36) Kindly ceded to me by Wm. Boyne, Esq.

* Seven coins in the Beaworth find.

† One coin in the Beaworth find.

‡ The legend of the obverse of this coin is obscure, and the coin has a hole through it; but upon comparison of the coin with the engraved figures of this type in Ruding and Hawkins, I think that the above reading is correct.

Type:—B.M., II.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 11; Hawkins, 248.

2. + ƿILLELM RE + ΛRNTL ON STNF B.M.
3. + ——— — + ƿVLFOR ON S/\N [Qy. Sandwich?] B.M.

Type:—B.M., III.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 9; Hawkins, 250.

4. + ƿELLEM REX + LIFSI ON STEN [Qy. Steyning?] B.M.

HENRY I.—A.D. 1100—1135.

Type:—B.M, I.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 15; Hawkins, 251.

1. + HNRI RE+I + HEIRMAN ON STN B.M.

Type:—B.M., III.; Ruding, Sup., pl. i., No. 7; Hawkins, 253.—The "PAX" type.

2. + HENRI RE+ + ARLIL ON STNFR B.M.

Type:—B.M., V.; Ruding, pl. ii., No. 6; Hawkins, 255.

3. + ɧENRICVS : RE: + ✱✱VRN✱✱ ON : STⱮ B.M. (misstruck).

Type:—B.M., V. (a variety); Ruding, Sup., Part II., pl. ii. No. 11 (bust looking to the right). Reverse as Hawkins, 255 and 260.

4. + ɧENRILVS + GODRIL ON STⱮN Beal (found in the neighbourhood of Oundle).

Type:—B.M., VIII.; Ruding, Sup., pl. i., No. 12; Hawkins, 256 (a variety—with rosette instead of sceptre in front of head).

5. + ɧENRIЄVS R: + MORVS : ON : STANF: B.M.

Type:—B.M., XI.; Ruding, Sup., pl. ii., No. 7; Hawkins, 262.

6. + ɧENRILVS R: + ✱✱MOR: ON ·STⱮNFOR Rashleigh (this coin is broken into two pieces—weight 16½ grs.).

Type:—B.M., XII.; Ruding, Sup., Part II., pl. i., No. 7; Hawkins, 263.

7. + ɧENRI RE+ + ƿVLFƿⱮRT : ON : STⱮN [Qy. Sandwich?] Museum at Bury St. Edmund's (found at Whepstead, Suffolk).

Type:—B.M., VI.; Ruding, pl. ii., No. 5; Hawkins, 265.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*	
8.	+ ɧENRIЄVS R:	+ ΠSЄɧETIE ON STΛNFO (Whitbourn's sale—19 grs.).	Sharp

STEPHEN—A.D. 1135—1140.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 17; Hawkins, 270.

1.	+ STIFNE REX:	+ GODRIE : ON : STAFO: [Qy. Stafford?] B.M. (This coin is figured in Hawkins.)
2.	+ ——— RE:	+ ✱✱FSI : ON : STAN B.M.
3, 4.	+ STIEFNE RE·	+ LEFSI : ON · STAN: B.M.; Sharp (Whitbourn's sale—22 grs.).
5.	+ ——— —	+ LEFSI · ON · STANFO: B.M.
6.	+ ——— —	+ ———: ON : STANF: * Rashleigh.
7.	+ ——— —	+ LEFS✱ ✱N STANFO * ,,
8.	+ ——— REX:	+ RAVENSART ON S: [Qy. Stamford?] Sharp (15 grs.).
9.	+ STIFN✱ R:	+ SVD✱✱RD : ON : ST Rashleigh (16½ grs.). This coin was found at Dartford.
10.	+ ✱✱✱✱✱NE RE:	+ ✱✱✱✱✱ ✱N ϖTAN Sharp (22 grs.).

Type:—B.M., II.; Ruding, pl. i., No. 16; Hawkins, 268.

11.	+ STIEFNE	+ DRIV : ON : STANFO: B.M.

HENRY II.—A.D. 1154—1189.

Type:—B.M., I.; Ruding, pl. ii., No. 4; Hawkins, 285.

1.	+ ɧENRI REX ΠNGL	+ WILLEϱ . ONN . STΠ·· B.M.
2.	+ ——— —— ———	+ W✱✱✱✱✱ : ON : ƧTΠ·· ,,

* These two coins were found near Watford.

LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE STAMFORD MINT.

	Eadgar.		Eadward the Martyr.		Æthelred II.		Cnut.		Harold I.		Harthacnut.		Eadward the Confessr.		Harold II.		William I.		William I. or II.		William II.		Henry I.		Stephen.		Henry II.	
	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.
ÆDƿRD	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
See EDƿERD																												
ÆDƿINE	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÆÐƿINE	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
See EÆDƿINE																												
EDƿINE																												
EÆDƿI																												
ÆLIXMÆN	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ALFAN	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÆLFEH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÆLFHƿNE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
See ELFƿNE																												
ÆLFLÆR	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
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See GRVNPINE																
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LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE STAMFORD MINT (*continued*).

	Eadger.		Eadward the Martyr.		Æthelred II.		Cnut.		Harold I.		Harthacnut.		Eadward the Confessr.		Harold II.		William I.		William I. or II.		William II.		Henry I.		Stephen.		Henry II.	
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LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE STAMFORD MINT (*continued*).

	Eadgar.		Eadward the Martyr.		Æthelred II.		Cnut.		Harold I.		Harthacnut.		Eadward the Confessr.		Harold II.		William I.		William I. or II.		William II.		Henry I.		Stephen.		Henry II.	
	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.
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LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE STAMFORD MINT (*continued*).

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	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.
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OIᴨ	..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
See BOIᴨ																												
OᘔMVND	..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
OSƿᴨRD	..		..		..		1	2	1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
Oꝏƿᴨ RD	..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
OᘔƿERD	..		..		..		1	4	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	

OSƿERD	..	..	..	2 3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OSƿERÐ	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OZƿOLD	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OИƿOLD	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OSƿOLD	..	..	..	1 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OИƿOLÐ	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OSƿ✱✱✱	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RICVLF	1 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RAVENSART	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 1	..
SEƿORD	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ИCOI	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3 4	..	..	..	..
SVD✱✱RD	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 1	..
SƿΛRCOLF	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ИƿΛRT	..	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SƿΛRT	..	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ИƿERT	..	..	1 3	1 1	1 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ИVΛRTBRΛD	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ИƿΛRTĿΛR	..	..	2 3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ZƿΛRTĿΛR	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ИƿERTĿΛR	..	..	2 16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SƿERTĿΛR	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ИƿERTEROLD ..	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Иƿ✱✱✱✱✱✱✱	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÐVRBEN	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..
ÐVRИTΛN	..	..	..	2 10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÐVRSTΛN	..	..	..	1 7	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÐVRSTΛ	..	..	..	1 1	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÐVSTΛN	..	..	..	1 4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÐVRVLF	..	..	..	4 23	2 3	1 1	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VIF✱✱✱	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ƿIDNΛ	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ƿILĿRIƿ	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ƿILCRIF	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ƿILCRII'	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE STAMFORD MINT (*continued*).

	Eadgar.		Eadward the Confessr.		Æthelred II.		Cnut.		Harold I.		Harthacnut.		Eadward the Confessr.		Harold II.		William I.		William I. or II.		William II.		Henry I.		Stephen.		Henry II.	
	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.	Types.	Coins.
ƿILRIN	..		..		..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿINE	..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿVLFLΓR	1	2	2	2	2	2	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿVLLΓR	1	3	1	3	1	4	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿLLFNILE	..		..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿVLFƿORD	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		2	6	..		..		..		..	
ƿVLFOR	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1	..		..		..	
ƿVLFNTΓN	..		..		2	3	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
VVVLFNTΓN	..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿVLNTΓN	..		1	1	2	4	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
VVLNTΓN	..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿVLFƿΓRT	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
ƿVLFƿINE	..		..		..		..		..		..		2	2	..		..		..		..		1	1	..		..	
ƿVLNOÐ	..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..	
WILLEM	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1
W*****	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1
VRN	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1	..		..	
**MOR	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1	..		..	
*****	..		..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		1	1	..	
****N	..		..		..		1	1	..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..		..	

SUMMARY.

Reigns.	Number of Coins.	Types.	Varieties of Type and Lettering.	Names.	Variations of Spelling.
EADGAR	16	1	15	8	10
EADWEARD MARTYR	46	3	41	17	21
ÆTHELRED II.	148	6	144	43	63
CNVT	203	5	161	37	70
HAROLD I.	50	4	50	22	32
HARTHACNVT	3	1	3	3	3
EADWARD CONFESSOR ..	73	11	68	22	41
HAROLD II.	3	1	3	1	2
WILLIAM I.	7	5	7	4	5
WILLIAM I. or II.*	21	2	15	6	7
DITTO, BVRGH*	4	3	3	1	2
WILLIAM II.	4	3	4	4	4
HENRY I.	8	8	8	8	8
STEPHEN	11	2	10	6	7
HENRY II.	2	1	2	1	1
	599	56	534	†	†

* These numbers do not include the coins of William I. or II. and Burgh, found at Beaworth.

† These columns do not afford a criterion for ascertaining correctly the whole number either of the names of moneyers or of the variations in the spelling of their names; as many names were continued on through, and doubtless individual moneyers not unfrequently worked in, more than one reign. The "List of Moneyers" gives about 120 names; but this certainly would not be the whole number of moneyers, as there must have been more than one moneyer of the same name, when it occurred during several reigns and through a long period of time. Thus ARELL occurred in the reigns of Harold I. and Henry I., and BRVNSTAN in the reigns of Cnut and William I. or II. Moreover, these 120 names present 218 variations in spelling; and it is not improbable that variations in spelling were sometimes adopted by different moneyers bearing the same name, for the sake of individual distinction.

TABLE OF DISTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Reigns.	Number of Coins.	British Museum.	S. Sharp.	Other British Collections.	Royal Cabinet of Stockholm.	Cabinet of Medals, Christiana.	University of Lund, Sweden.	University of Upsala, Sweden.	Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen.	Consul Mohr, Copenhagen.	The late Director Thomsen, Copenhagen.	Count of Bille Brahe, Denmark.	Royal Cabinet, Berlin.	Museum of the Hermitage, St. Petersburgh.	M. San Quintino, of Turin.
EADGAR	16	4	2	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EADWEARD MARTYR ..	46	14	9	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ÆTHELRED II.	148	12	9	19	72	3	1	3	25	..	..	..	4	..	..
CNVT	203	18	9	13	50	33	3	6	56	1	3	2	1	8	..
HAROLD I.	50	4	5	6	19	..	1	..	9	..	3	1	2	..	..
HARTHACNVT	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
EADWARD CONFESSOR	73	32	10	12	12	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	1
HAROLD II.	3	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WILLIAM I.	7	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WILLIAM I. or II.*	21	6	8	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
DITTO, BVRGH*	4	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WILLIAM II.	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
HENRY I.	8	4	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
STEPHEN	11	5	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
HENRY II.	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	599	111	61	99	154	36	5	9	98	1	6	3	7	8	1

Of the foregoing coins thirty are only conjecturally assigned to the Stamford mint, viz.: three of Æthelred II., two of Cnut, three of Harold I., sixteen of Eadward the Confessor, one of William I., two of William II., one of Henry I., and two of Stephen. SAMUEL SHARP.

* These numbers do not include the coins of these types found at Beaworth.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *Revue Numismatique*, Nos. 3-4, 1869, are the following articles :—

1. "On an inedited Tetradrachm of Delphi," by M. Henri de Longpérier.
2. "Inedited Greek coins of the Soutzo Collection," by M. Alexandre G. Soutzo.
3. "Inedited coins and seals of Neopatras and Carytæna," by M. P. Lambros.
4. "Inedited coins of John IV., Duke of Brittany," by M. L. Chauffier.
5. "On a Find of coins of the Fourteenth Century—France, Burgundy, Bar, Savoy, Vaud, and Brittany," by M. Ch. Robert.
6. "Gold Florin of Bar, issued under Duke Robert," by M. J. Laurent.
7. "Essay on the numismatic history of the Counts of Flanders of the house of Austria, and classification of their coins (1482—1556)" (second article), by M. L. Deschamps de Pas.

In the *Chronique* are the following notices :—

1. "Coin of Raïdan."
2. "The Byzantine Πεντανούμιον."
3. "Denier of Remelange."
4. "Fleur-de-lis, on a Byzantine coin."
5. "A gold Franc of William of Arles."
6. "An episcopal Florin of Metz."
7. "Prices fetched at the Dassy sale."

In the *quatrième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* for 1869 are the following articles :—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity" (sixteenth article), by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Mailliet.
2. "The different forms of the Eagles upon the coins of Russia," by M. F. Seguin.
3. "Numismatics of Brussels.—The Medal of the City Guard in 1815," by M. R. Chalon.
4. "Historical Jetons, from the collection of M. Vander Auwera" (third article), by M. Camille Picqué.

5. "Some inedited coins from the cabinet of the late M. le Baron Michiels van Verduynen," by M. Dumoulin.

6. "Contemporary monetary history.—Fragments" (first article), by M. A. Brichaut.

7. "English medal of Palladium and Hydrogenium," by M. A. Brichaut.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications; among others of Admiral Smyth's catalogue of Roman family coins of the Northumberland cabinet.

In the *Nécrologie* is a short notice of the life of M. Léonard J. F. Janssen, late keeper of the coins at Leyden.

The Part concludes with a list of members and an index to the volume.

In the *Berliner-Blätter für Münz-Siegel-und Wappenkunde*, Part II., vol. v., 1869, are the following articles:—

1. "The two *Finds* at Eibenschitz and the coinage of the Moravian Princes in the Eleventh Century," by Dr. Kupido.

2. "The Lommersum Find," by H. Dannenberg.

3. "Contributions to the numismatic history of the town of Berlin," Part I., by Herr Vossberg.

4. "Medallion of Peter the Great," by the Baron von Koehne.

5. "On a five-franc piece of Philippe d'Auvergne, the last Duke of Bouillon," by the Baron von Koehne.

6. "Miscellanea," by the Baron von Koehne.

The Part concludes with notices of the most recent coins, medals, and numismatic publications.

In several recent numbers of the *Revue Archéologique* are articles by M. F. de Saulcy on countermarked coins, which are well worthy the attention of those interested in Roman and other countermarks, which have hitherto met with hardly the attention they deserve. Among other coins described is one, which there is reason to believe was countermarked in Judæa by the Tenth Legion, which was employed at the siege of Jerusalem. The mark bears the figure of a boar, with a dolphin below, and the letters L. X. F., for Legio Decima Fretensis.

"Égypte Ancienne. Première Partie. Monnaies des Rois, par Feuardent, Membre de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie."

In this work M. Feuardent has given us, not merely a catalogue of a portion of one of the finest existing collec-

tions, but also a scientific classification of a series of coins hitherto one of the most obscure and puzzling to numismatists. The author's long practice has enabled him, where so many others have failed, to throw a new light upon the Egyptian series. Seven years ago, M. Feuardent tells us in the preface, he had attempted the classification of the coins of the kings of Egypt; but at that time he had not the materials at hand. Large finds which have since come into his possession, and the opportunity of studying the great collection of M. Démétrio, have since compelled him to modify some of his views, and the present magnificent volume gives us the results he has finally arrived at. He took the collection of M. Démétrio, already classified according to the old system, heaped the coins all together, and began to arrange them anew by the light of his own reason. He then proceeded to classify them according to the character of the physiognomy of Ptolemy Soter, of which he distinguishes sixteen distinct types, or varieties, which he then proceeds to group into classes or reigns, differing in the less or greater *décadence* of the style of art, the steady decline of which, from the time of the first Ptolemy until that of the last Cleopatra, is plainly visible. However doubtful such a basis for a scientific arrangement may appear to some, there can be no doubt that in this case, as in that of our English short-cross pennies, it is the only one possible. One fact should not be lost sight of, viz., that almost all the dates upon the coins agree entirely with the duration assigned by history to the several reigns; and this goes to prove that M. Feuardent's classification, although based upon varieties of type not to be distinguished by the inexperienced eye, is in the main correct. The author has carefully weighed all that has been written on this obscure subject by those who have gone deeply into the question, more especially the theories of MM. Charles and François Lenormant, Mr. Poole, and Mr. Six of Amsterdam, to all of whom he gives great praise for their patience and ingenuity in endeavouring to unravel so intricate a question as the correct attribution of such a difficult series as that of the dynasty of the Lagidæ. The volume is enriched by twelve beautiful plates from the experienced hand of the well-known artist and engraver, M. Masson, which by themselves form a series of illustrations invaluable to the student no less than to the numismatist. Each reign is prefaced by a short history, after which follows a catalogue *raisonné* of the coins attributed to it by M. Feuardent. This work will be welcome to many in this country who have been at a loss to arrive at any satisfactory arrangement of the coins of the Ptolemies. The second part, which is to contain the coins of the Roman emperors

struck in Egypt, from Augustus to Constantius Chlorus, illustrated by twenty-four plates, is already in the press.

This important work may be obtained of M. Gaston Feuardent, 27, Haymarket, for the very moderate price of twelve francs for each part.

MISCELLANEA.

Find of Coins near Southampton.

Sir,

In the spring of this year a labourer, in sinking a ditch on the farm of Robert Palmer, Esq., at Allington, a few miles from this place, turned up a portion of a Roman vessel, which was found to contain coins. The portion remaining was merely the bottom, and two or three inches of the side, and has the appearance of having been deposited in its present condition—certainly not showing any recent fracture. Annexed is a list of the coins.

Yours, &c.,
Robert Jennings.

The coins, with one exception, are silver, and of the ordinary size.

7 JULIANUS II. . . .	6 Votis V., Multis X.: 1 broken.
	1 Votis X., Multis XX.: in exergue, S.LVG and TR.
1 VALENTINIAN . . .	Vrbs Roma.
7 VALENS	Vrbs Roma: in exergue, TRPS.
3 GRATIANUS	,, ,,
2 THEODOSIUS I. . .	,, ,, LVGPS.
2 MAGNUS MAXIMUS .	Virtvs Romanorum: in exergue, TRPS.
8 ARCADIUS	7 Virtvs Romanorum: in exergue, TRPS.
	1 Vrbs Roma.
13 HONORIUS	Virtvs Romanorum: MDPS.
10 UNCERTAIN	Legend gone.
53	

1 Gold, ARCADIUS, in good condition, 68 grs., VICTORIA AVGG, emperor and captive (*Sabatier*, No. 18); S.M in the field; in exergue, COMOB.

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VIRTUE AND CO., PRINTERS, CITY ROAD, LONDON.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1868—1869.

OCTOBER 15, 1868.

W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., President, in the Chair.

Henry Fred. William Holt, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Early Sassanian Coins, by Edward Thomas, Esq., from the Author.

2. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Trimestres I. et II. de 1868. From the Society.

3. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 3rd Series, vol. vi. From the Society.

4. Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 4th series. Tom. vi. 4me livraison. From the Society.

5. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Band v., No. 1. From the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

6. Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica per la storia d'Italia. Anno 1, Fasc. 1. From the Editor.

7. Memorial Numismatico Español. A o ii., Cuad 2, 2° Trimestre. From the Society.

8. Proceedings of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, N.S., vol. v., January, 1867. From the Society.

The Rev. R. V. Whitby exhibited a gold coin of Faustina, found in the churchyard of Shenton, in Leicestershire.

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen communicated a paper "On Two New Scottish Pennies of James VI. and Charles I.," with some remarks on the half-groats of those reigns. See Num. Chron., vol. viii. p. 237.

Dr. W. Flight communicated some notes "On the Chemical Composition of a Bactrian Coin of Euthydemos of the Second Century B.C.," wherein he showed that it was composed of an alloy of copper and nickel almost identical with that of which the Belgian five and ten centime pieces are now composed. See Num. Chron., vol. viii. p. 305.

Mr. Evans read a paper, by himself, "On some Rare and Unpublished Roman Gold Coins. Printed in Num. Chron., vol. viii. p. 223.

NOVEMBER 19, 1868.

W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., President, in the Chair.

Marmaduke C. F. Morris, Esq., Henry William Henfrey, Esq., Arthur Briggs, Esq., Rudolph Frentzel, Esq., and Humphrey Wood, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, edited by the Society of Northern Antiquaries. Part IV., 1867. Supplement to ditto, year 1867. Ditto, ditto, Parts. I. and II., 1868. From the Society.

2. Belohnungs-Medaillen Peters des Grossen, by the Baron von Köhne. From the Author.

Mr. S. Sharp exhibited a Gold Coin of Addedomaros (Ev. xiv. 5) found at Houghton, near Northampton; and a Gold Coin of Focas, showing the earliest form of the crozier.

Mr. Webster exhibited a unique quarter-noble of Henry IV.,

struck after his thirteenth year, with a coronet mint-mark on the reverse.

The Rev. Assheton Pownall exhibited a light groat of Henry IV., having the trefoil after the legend on the obverse instead of after POSVI.

The Rev. Assheton Pownall read a paper "On the Mullet-marked Groats." See Num. Chron., vol. viii. p. 339.

Mr. Barclay V. Head read a paper, by himself, "On Two Greek Imperial Coins of Ilion in the Troad." Printed in Num. Chron., vol. viii. p. 321.

DECEMBER 17, 1868.

W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Liebe's Gotha Numaria. From John Williams, Esq.

2. Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer in Mainz. Band iii., Heft 1, 1868. From the Society.

3. Over de oudere munten van Lycie, by J. P. Six. From the Author.

4. A second supplement to the Coinage of Scotland, with lists, descriptions, &c., by John Lindsay, Esq. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited nobles of the first and second coinage of Henry IV., and a half-noble of his second coinage, unpublished, the two latter having a small trefoil close to the head of one of the lions on the reverse.

Mr. James Wingate exhibited a drawing of a new variety of the Lion of Mary Queen of Scots, with cinquefoils on either side of the national arms instead of the letters I and G, and the legend MARIA D. G. SCOTORVM. REGINA.

Mr. Wilson exhibited a barbarous tetradrachm of Euthydemus of Bactria.

Mr. Thomas Jones exhibited a large brass coin of Hadrian with the reverse DISCIPLINA AVG. and with COS IIII on the obverse; it was probably an altered coin. Mr. Jones also exhibited various other coins, among which was a tetradrachm of Antiochus III. (?) of Syria.

Major Hay exhibited a number of Oriental gems which he had collected in the Panjáb.

Mr. Vaux read a paper, by himself, from notes communicated to him by Captain Tupper, "On the Waterloo Medals," which will be found in Num. Chron., vol. ix., p. 108.

JANUARY 21, 1869.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair,

Laurence Trent Cave, Esq., and Major-General A. Cunningham were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. A bronze medal, struck in commemoration of the silver wedding of John Gough Nichols and Lucy Lewis. From J. G. Nichols, Esq.

2. Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie. 2me Année, 1867. From the Society.

3. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5me Série, tom. i., 1re liv. From the Society.

4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3me trimestre de 1868.

5. The Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 3rd Series, vol. i., July, 1868. From the Society.

6. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. New Series, vol. iii., Part II. From the Society.

7. Curiosités Numismatiques. Monnaies rares ou inédites. 11me art. By Renier Chalon. From the Author.

8. Trésor de Tarse. By Adrien de Longpérier. From the Author.

9. Deniers de Charlemagne, trouvés près de Sarzana. By Adrien de Longpérier. From the Author.

10. Monnaies de Charles VI. et Charles VII., Rois de France, frappées à Gênes. By Adrien de Longpérier. From the Author.

11. Eurykleides und Mikion die Kephisier. By C. L. Grotefend. From the Author.

12. Bröholt fundet, Mynter fra 10de og 11de Aarhundrede. By C. A. Holmboe. From the Author.

13. Om det ældre Russiske Vægtsystem. By C. A. Holmboe. From the Author.

14. Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland. By J. Wingate. From the Author.

15. Batty's Catalogue of the Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, &c. Part II. Penny Tokens, &c. From the Author.

Mr. Sharp exhibited a groat of Edward V., struck at London, having on the obverse a boar's head, M.M., and on the reverse a *fleur-de-lys*, found at Towcester; also a penny of Coenwulf, King of Mercia: reverse SIGEBERHT MONETA; found at Crowland Abbey. See Num. Chron., vol. ix. p. 25.

Dr. Freudenthal exhibited specimens of the new Russian and Hungarian copper coinages.

Mr. Webster exhibited a second-brass coin of Philip Junior, with his head to the left: reverse PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS; a figure standing to the left, holding a standard in his right and a spear in his left hand. He also exhibited a copper coin of King George of Trebizond (1266—1280), of whom Pfaffenhoffen says no coins are known.

M. Pierides, of Cyprus, communicated a paper printed in Num. Chron., vol. ix. p. 19, "On the Coins of the Kings of Cyprus."

General Fox communicated a paper "On a Coin of Glauconnesus." (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ix. p. 25.)

Mr. Rashleigh communicated a paper (see Num. Chron., vol. ix. p. 54) "On the History and the Coins of the Kingdom of Northumberland."

FEBRUARY 18, 1869.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vi., Parts III. and IV. By Charles Roach Smith, Esq. From the Author.

2. Remarks on Shakespeare. By C. R. Smith, Esq. From the Author.

3. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society, N.S., vol. vi., April, 1867, No. 56. From the Society.

4. Recherches sur les insignes de la Questure et sur les Récipients Monétaires. By Henri de Longpérier. From the Author.

5. Batty's Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Isles, Part III., 1867.

The Rev. T. Cornthwaite exhibited a thaler struck by John of Leyden, at Münster, commonly called an "Anabaptist Thaler."

Mr. G. Sim exhibited a counterfeit sterling bearing the head and title of Edward II., struck by the Dukes of Lorraine and the Bishops of Toul.

Mr. S. Smith, jun., exhibited a sketch of a short-cross penny of Henry III., with the cross botonée m.m.

Mr. T. Jones exhibited a drachma of one of the Ptolemies, probably Philopator, bearing the date PE (105).

Mr. Evans exhibited a contorniate of the latter half of the

fourth century, having on the obverse a charioteer standing in front of a horse, with the legend PORFVRI, and the name of the horse BOTRICALES, and on the reverse a charioteer, in a quadriga, and a legend which may possibly be LVDI SPERO BONETFSA-E, probably meaning "Ludi spero bonum et faustum eventum." The name BOTRICALES is repeated on the exergue of the reverse. The designs, both on the obverse and reverse, are engraved in intaglio instead of being, as is usual, cast or struck in relief.

General Cunningham communicated a paper "On the Greeks of Bactriana, Ariana, and India, and on the date of the Bactrian Independence."

March 18th, 1869.

W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., President, in the chair.

John Middleton, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

1. Monnoyage. Nineteen Plates of the Machinery used in Mints. From John Davidson, Esq.

2. Haym's Tesoro Britannico, 1719. From John Williams, Esq.

3. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4me trimestre de 1868. From the Society.

4. Jetons de Mariage. By Renier Chalon. From the Author.

5. One hundred and twenty copies of the Catalogue of the Northumberland Cabinet of Roman Coins. Compiled by Admiral Smyth. From His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, for distribution among the members of the Society.

The Rev. T. Cornthwaite exhibited a dinar of Haroun Al Raschid.

Mr. Sharp exhibited some Roman coins and a bronze bust of an emperor, probably Lucius Verus, found in surface-soil,

Ironstone Pits, Duston, near Northampton, and communicated a paper on the find above-mentioned, which is printed in the Num. Chron., ix., p. 167.

Mr. J. F. Neck communicated a paper, entitled "The Mullet-Marked Groat," by the Rev. Assheton Pownall; and Mr. E. Bunbury one "On some Unpublished Coins of Lysimachus," both of which are printed in the Num. Chron., vol. ix.

Mr. Evans made some remarks concerning the dies used by the ancients, which he supposed to have been cast of bronze in metal moulds and afterwards tooled, the metal mould having the effect of chilling the bronze, and rendering it almost as hard as steel.

April, 15th, 1869.

W. Freudenthal, Esq., M.D., Treasurer, in the chair.

The Rev. William Allan, M.A.; the Rev. G. Sidney Streatfield and Miss Mary Deedes were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table.

1. Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique for the years 1863-4-5-6, with Atlas of Plates for each year. From the Commission.

2. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5me. Série, tom. i. 2me liv. From the Society.

3. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band v., No. 2. From the Society.

4. Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 37me Année, 2me Série, t. xxv. and xxvi., 1868.

5. Annuaire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1869. From the Academy.

6. Archæologia Cantiana, vol. vii., 1868. From the Kent Archæological Society.

7. Curiosités Numismatiques. Monnaies rares ou inédites. 12me article. By Renier Chalon. From the Author.

8. Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Rhode Island Numismatic Association. From the Society.

Mr. Evans exhibited one of the small tokens in common use in the German alehouses, and representing EIN SCHOPPEN BIER.

Mr. Evans read a paper, "On a Hoard of Silver Coins found at Tower Hill." See Num. Chron., vol. ix., p. 247.

W. H. D. Longstaffe, Esq., communicated a paper "On the Distinction between the Silver Coins of Henry IV., V., VI." See Num. Chron., vol. ix., p. 257.

The Rev. A. Pownall read a paper "On the Royal Bust on Early Groats," printed in the Num. Chron., vol. ix. p. 203.

MAY 20th, 1869.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the chair.

William Henry Whinfield, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The History of India as told by its own Historians. Edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., by Professor J. Dowson. 2 vols. 1867—9.

2. Printers' Medals and Jetons. 1 vol., with Plates. From W. Blades, Esq.

3. Records of Roman History from Cnæus Pompeius to Tiberius Constantinus, as exhibited on the Roman Coins, collected by Francis Hobler, Esq. 2 vols. From J. Williams, Esq.

4. Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, vol. i., 3rd Series, October, 1868, No. 4. From the Society.

5. A bronze medal of Taylor Combe, formerly Keeper of the Coins and Antiquities in the British Museum. From Dr. Gray, F.R.S.

6. A bronze medal commemorating the inauguration of the Oastler Monument at Bradford. From Arthur Briggs, Esq.

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen exhibited a copper coin of Carausius, found at Colchester, having on the reverse SALVS AVG. and a figure of Æsculapius.

Dr. Freudenthal exhibited specimens of the new nickel penny and halfpenny struck for Jamaica; also three denominations of copper tokens, struck by the Ceylon Company (Limited), for the payment of workmen at the St. Sebastian Mills.

Mr. Smallfield exhibited a small M.S. book of the middle of the last century, containing pen-and-ink sketches of coins and tokens. Under the name of King John are sketches of short-cross pennies, having on the obverse HENRICVS REX, some of which have since been proved to have been struck in the reign of John.

Mr. S. F. Corkran exhibited casts of some remarkable silver medallions of Severus Alexander and Elagabalus, of a copper medallion of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamæa, and of a rare gold coin of Olybrius.

Mr. Evans read a letter from J. Wingate, Esq., on a pattern of a groat in copper of Queen Anne, struck at the Edinburgh Mint of the year 1711, a date which is two years later than that of any known coins of that mint.

Rev. C. W. King, M.A., communicated a paper "On the True Nature of the Contorniate Medals," which he considered to have been used as πέσσοι, ψῆφοι, or draughtsmen, and not to have been struck as historical medals.

Mr. S. F. Corkran communicated a paper "On some Remarkable Roman Medallions recently acquired by the British Museum." Printed in Num. Chron., vol. ix. p. 263.

JUNE 17, 1869.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING,

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting:—

GENTLEMEN,—In accordance with the usual custom of this Society, the Council have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society at this, another Anniversary Meeting.

The Council regret to have to announce their loss by death of William Henry Barton, Esq., of the Royal Mint; of Richard Whitbourn, Esq., F.S.A., and of J. H. Hartwright, Esq.; of our honorary members, M. Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes, Officer of the Legion of Honour, and President of the Imperial Society of Emulation of Abbeville; and of Dr. A. Namur, of Luxembourg.

The Council also have to announce the resignation of—

Stanley C. Bagg, Esq.
William Boyne, Esq., F.S.A.
James Cameron, Esq.
Hyde Clarke, Esq., LL.D.
George Baynton Davy, Esq.
W. Binley Dickinson, Esq.
W. Forster, Esq.
Harold Tinson, Esq.
Hon. J. Leicester Warren, M.A.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the thirteen following members:—

Rev. William Allan, M.A.

Arthur Briggs, Esq.
Laurence Trent Cave, Esq.
Major-General A. Cunningham.
Miss Mary Deedes.
Rudolph Frentzel, Esq.
Henry William Henfrey, Esq.
Henry Frederic William Holt, Esq.
John Middleton, Esq.
Marmaduke C. F. Morris, Esq.
Rev. George Sidney Streatfield.
William Henry Whinfield, Esq.
Humphrey Wood, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1868 . .	6	123	41	170
Since elected	—	13	—	13
	6	136	41	183
Deceased	—	3	2	5
Resigned	1	8	—	9
Erased	—	—	—	—
Members, June, 1869 .	5	125	39	169

The Council regret that they have not been able to procure any satisfactory biographical notices of some of our deceased friends, though two at least of them, M. Boucher de Perthes and Dr. A. Namur, enjoyed during their lifetime no inconsiderable reputation on the Continent.

M. Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes died on the 2nd of August, 1868, at the age of 79 years. He was no doubt better known as a geologist than as an antiquary or a numis-

matist. He was among the first to recognise the importance of the "Flint Implements" found in the Drift, and his loss will be felt by all who take an interest in the great question of the antiquity of the human race, to the elucidation of which he contributed so much. He was an officer of the Legion of Honour, President of the Imperial Society of Emulation of Abbeville, and a member of numerous learned societies, among which may be mentioned our own, of which he was an honorary member.

Dr. A. Namur, who died on the 31st of March, 1869, was a Professor of the Royal Grand-ducal Athenæum of Luxembourg, Secretary and Keeper of the Historical Section of the Luxembourg Institute, one of the most active and energetic members of the Belgian Numismatic Society, and an honorary member of the Numismatic Society of London.

The late Richard Whitbourn, Esq., F.S.A., had for many years been a member of this Society. Though actively engaged in business as holding an important post in a bank at Godalming, he devoted much time to numismatic and antiquarian pursuits, and was a constant attendant at our meetings, at which he was always ready to exhibit the various rarities which he from time to time added to his collection, and many of which have been described in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle. His cabinet comprised the early British, Anglo-Saxon, and English series, and included many specimens of great rarity and interest. His sudden and untimely death took place on the 17th of July, 1868, at the age of 57 years.

The Council, in drawing this report to a conclusion, while themselves feeling the satisfaction which each individual member must feel, in the fact that the numbers on this anniversary are no less than those at our last anniversary, beg at the same time to impress most strongly on every

member of the Society the necessity of using the utmost personal efforts to obtain a much larger number of new members than we have of late years been able to elect.

Without being in any way disheartened, they cannot but think that the loss by resignation of so many as nine members is a serious matter to a body numbering so few as we unfortunately do; and, further, that among those we have thus lost there are two or three, at least, whom we might reasonably have hoped would have stood by the Society to the last. It is the hope of the Council—and their well-assured belief—that every member *will* do his utmost to keep up to the full the existing numbers of the Society—at least, never to allow it to fall below that number which it has at present—nay more, they trust with much confidence in those they see around them that they will do everything in their power with this end in view, remembering always that the practical utility of the Society, as noticed in the Council's Report of the last year, consists mainly in its being able to keep up its valuable journal, and in preserving the regular and punctual issue of its four parts.

The Report of the Treasurer is as follows:—

Statement of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June 20, 1868, to June 20, 1869.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH W. FREUDENTHAL, TREASURER. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Mrs. Newman, for Engraving	2	10	0
,, Mr. F. J. Lees, ditto	37	16	0
,, Mr. W. West, ditto	1	12	0
,, Mr. A. M. Williams, for Woodcuts	3	0	0
,, Mr. J. H. Rimbault, ditto	0	12	0
,, Messrs. Virtue & Co, for Printing Chronicle, No. 29	31	11	0
,, Ditto ditto ditto No. 30	29	0	0
,, Ditto ditto ditto No. 31	25	7	0
,, Ditto ditto ditto No. 32	35	8	0
,, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, for Rent, 12 months, to Christmas, 1868	20	0	0
,, Ditto for Expenses of Meetings, &c.	2	2	0
,, Mr. R. Deane, for Postage	0	11	3
,, Mr. S. F. Corkran ditto	0	11	3
,, Mr. J. R. Smith, ditto	0	1	0
,, Mr. F. W. Madden, for Postage and Stationery	1	5	0
,, Mr. B. V. Head, ditto ditto	2	3	0
,, Collector, for Commission and Postage	6	13	6
,, Treasurer, for Stationery, &c.	1	2	2
	£201	5	2
,, Balance in hand to next account	155	13	6
	£356	18	8

	£	s.	d.
By Balance in hand (at last statement)	91	11	2
,, Annual Subscriptions	114	9	0
,, Life ditto	37	16	0
,, Entrance Fees	13	13	0
,, Dividends on £305 17*s.* 10*d.* for 1866-67	18	0	3
,, Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles	48	0	0
,, Captain Douglas ditto	4	4	0
,, Mr. J. Wingate ditto	4	4	0
,, Mr. C. R. Taylor ditto	5	1	3
,, British Museum, for Plates of Blacas Collection	20	0	0
	£356	18	8
Balance in hands of Treasurer	155	13	6

W. FREUDENTHAL, TREASURER.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

J. B. Bergne, Esq., F.S.A.

Rt. Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen, Hon. D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.

Treasurer.

W. Freudenthal, Esq., M.D.

Secretaries.

John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A, F.G.S.

Barclay Vincent Head, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

John Yonge Akerman, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

Sutton Fraser Corkran, Esq.

Members of the Council.

Thomas James Arnold, Esq., F.S.A.

S. Birch, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite, M.A.

Major-General A. Cunningham.

Thomas Jones, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Frederic W. Madden, Esq.

Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, M.A.

S. Sharp, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S.

J. S. Smallfield, Esq.

John Williams, Esq., F.S.A.

The Society then adjourned until October 21st, 1869.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

OF LONDON,

DECEMBER, 1869.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

OF LONDON,

DECEMBER, 1869.

An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution. (O.M.) = *Original Member.*

ABBOTT, CAPTAIN CHARLES COMPTON, Maryborough, Ireland.
ALLAN, REV. WILLIAM, M.A., St. Asaph Villa, Leamington.
ALLEN WILLIAM, ESQ., North Villa, Winchmore Hill, Southgate.
ANDERSON, COLONEL WILLIAM, C.B., 19, Gloucester Square.
ARNOLD, THOMAS JAMES, ESQ., F.S.A., 1, Greville Place, N.W.

*BABINGTON, REV. PROF. CHURCHILL, B.D., M.R.S.L., Cockfield Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk.
BAYLEY, E. CLIVE, ESQ., H.E.I.C.S., India.
(O. M.) BERGNE, JOHN B., ESQ., F.S.A., Foreign Office, Downing Street, *Vice-President.*
BIRCH, SAMUEL, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., British Museum.
BLADES, WILLIAM, ESQ., 11, Abchurch Lane.
BRENT, CECIL, ESQ., 1, Denmark Villas, Widmore Road, Bromley.
*BRIGGS, ARTHUR, ESQ., Cragg Royd, Rawden, Leeds.
BUNBURY, EDWARD H., ESQ., M.A., F.G.S., 35, St. James's Street.
BURNS, EDWARD, ESQ, 13, Bank Street, Edinburgh.
BUSH, COLONEL TOBIN, 14, St. James's Square.

CANE, HENRY, ESQ., Capland Spa, Hatch Beauchamp, Taunton.
CAVE, LAURENCE TRENT, ESQ., 75, Chester Square.
CHAMBERS, MONTAGUE, ESQ., Q.C., Child's Place, Temple Bar.
COOMBS, ARTHUR, ESQ., M.A., High West Street, Dorchester.
COOTE, HENRY CHARLES, ESQ., Doctors' Commons.
CORKRAN, SUTTON FRASER, ESQ., British Museum, *Librarian.*
*CORNTHWAITE, REV. TULLIE, M.A., Forest, Walthamstow.
CRUMP, ARTHUR, ESQ., Stockholm Bank, Stockholm.
CUNNINGHAM, MAJOR-GENERAL A., 1, Clarendon Road, Kensington.

DAVIDSON, JOHN, ESQ., 14, St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner.
DAVIES, WILLIAM RUSHER, ESQ., Market Place, Wallingford.
*DEEDES, MISS MARY, Bramfield Rectory, Hertford.
DOUGLAS, CAPTAIN R. J. H., Junior United Service Club.
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